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H I S T O R Y
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BY
THE HON. SALMA HALE.

IN TWO VOLUMES.

VOL. II.

NEW-YORK.

PUBLISHED BY HARPER & BROTHERS,
NO. 82 CLIFF-STREET.

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HISTORY
OF
THE UNITED STATES,
FROM THEIR
FIRST SETTLEMENT AS COLONIES
TO THE
CLOSE OF THE ADMINISTRATION OF MR. MADISON,
IN 1817.

BY SALMA HALE.

IN TWO VOLUMES.

VOL. II

NEW-YORK:
PUBLISHED BY HARPER & BROTHERS,
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1840.

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HISTORY

OF

THE UNITED STATES.

CHAPTER XXI.

CAMPAIGN OF 1776.

THE last humble petition of the American congress to the king was presented by Richard Penn, who had been governor of Pennsylvania, and Arthur Lee, one of the colonial agents. A few days afterwards, they were told, by the minister, that no answer would be made to it. The same haughty spirit that dictated this reply actuated a large majority of both houses of parliament. In December, an act was passed prohibiting all trade with the colonies; authorizing the capture and condemnation of all American vessels and their cargoes; and, with a refinement in cruelty which evinced the exasperated feelings of the king and ministry, making it lawful to enroll, as seamen or marines, all persons found on board such vessels, and compel them to do duty as such, thus placing them where they might be obliged to fight against their relatives, friends, and country. Treaties were also made with the landgrave of Hesse and other German princes, hiring of them seventeen thousand men, to be employed against the Americans; and it was determined to send over, in addition to these, twenty-five thousand English troops.

As soon as intelligence of the act of parliament

reached America, the congress authorized the colonists to fit out privateers and capture British vessels. They also, casting off the shackles of commercial monopoly, opened their ports to all the world, except the dominions of Great Britain. They appointed Mr. Dumas, of Holland, their agent in that republic; and sent Silas Deane, of Connecticut, to France, to appear there as a commercial agent, but with secret instructions to hold political conferences with the French ministry.

In the beginning of the year 1776, a fleet under Sir Peter Parker, and two thousand five hundred troops, commanded by Earl Cornwallis, were despatched upon an expedition against the southern colonies. Soon after, Admiral Hotham set sail with a large number of transports, carrying the first division of Hessians; and, in May, followed Admiral Lord Howe, who had been appointed commander of the naval force on the American station. He, and his brother, General Howe, had also been appointed joint commissioners to grant pardons on submission.

On the first of May, the fleet, under Sir Peter Parker, arrived on the coast of North Carolina, where Sir Henry Clinton, arriving at the same time from New York, took command of the troops. The late defeat of the Highland emigrants had so dispirited the loyalists in this colony, that he determined to proceed farther south, and attack Charleston, the capital of South Carolina.

Fortunately, an official letter, announcing the speedy departure of the expedition from England, had been intercepted early in the spring; and time was thus given to place this city in a state of defence. A strong fort was built on Sullivan's Island—a position from which ships, on entering the harbor, could be greatly annoyed; the streets, in different places, were strongly barricaded; the stores on the wharves, though of great value, were pulled down, and lines of defence erected along the water's edge.

On learning the near approach of the enemy, the

militia of the country were summoned to defend the capital. They obeyed with alacrity, increasing to five or six thousand the number of troops. General Lee had been sent from New York to take the chief command; and his high military reputation gave confidence to the soldiers and inhabitants. Under him were Colonels Gadsden, Moultrie, and Thompson.

In the morning of the 28th of June, nine ships-of-war, carrying two hundred and fifty guns, began a furious attack upon the fort on the island, which was garrisoned by about four hundred men, under the command of Colonel Moultrie. At the same time, a detachment of troops was landed on an adjoining island, and directed to cross over, at a place where the sea was supposed to be shallow, and attack it in the rear.

The heavy and incessant fire of the enemy was received with coolness, and returned with skill. Many of their ships suffered severely, and particularly the *Bristol*, on board of which was Commodore Parker. She was twice in flames; her captain was killed; and so dreadful was the slaughter, that, at one time, the commodore was the only person upon deck unhurt.

In the midst of the action, General Lee visited the garrison. He was delighted with the enthusiasm they exhibited. Nothing seemed capable of quenching their ardor. Soldiers, mortally wounded, exhorted their comrades never to abandon the standard of liberty. "I die," said Sergeant M'Donald, in his last moments, "for a glorious cause; but I hope it will not expire with me."

The British troops, destined to attack the fort in the rear, found it impossible to reach the island. The engagement with the fleet continued until dark. The ships, having received too much injury to renew it, moved off in the night; and, a few days afterwards, the fleet, with the troops on board, set sail for New York, where the whole British force had been ordered to assemble.

The killed and wounded on the part of the enemy

amounted to near two hundred. Of the Americans, ten were killed, and twenty-two wounded. The troops, for their gallantry, received the thanks of congress, and high and well-merited praise from their countrymen. Their success was auspicious to the cause of freedom. In a part of the country where resistance by force had been but little contemplated, it aroused the people to exertion, and inspired them with confidence.

Notwithstanding the active war carried on, the colonies still professed allegiance to the British king; and protested that the sole object of all their measures was a redress of grievances. In the beginning of the contest, these professions, in most instances, were sincere; but a state of hostility produced a rapid change of sentiment. In place of attachment to monarchy and to Great Britain succeeded devotion to republican principles and wishes for independence.

The temporary constitutions adopted by New Hampshire, and several other colonies, had shown with what facility all bonds of connection with the mother country could be dissolved. Essays in the newspapers, and pamphlets, industriously circulated, appealing to the reason and to the passions of the people, enforced the necessity and policy of a separation. Resistance, it was observed, had been carried too far to allow the hope that cordial harmony could ever be restored; submission on any terms to irritated masters, would be totally unsafe; and the alternative was presented of rising to the honorable rank of an independent nation, or sinking into a state of vassalage which every future year would render more oppressive and degrading.

A pamphlet entitled "Common Sense," and written by Thomas Paine, an Englishman, was universally read, and most highly admired. In language plain, forcible, and singularly well fitted to operate on the public mind, he portrayed the excellences of republican institutions, and attacked, with happy and successful ridicule, the principles of hereditary govern-

ment. The effect of the pamphlet, in making converts, was astonishing, and is probably without precedent in the annals of literature.

As a step preparatory to independence, congress, on the 15th of May, recommended to those colonies that had not yet adopted constitutions, to establish, without any limitation of time, "such governments as might best conduce to the happiness and safety of the people." The recommendation was generally complied with; and in every instance the government was not only entirely elective, but elective at such short periods as to impress upon rulers their immediate accountability to the people, and upon the people a just opinion of their own importance, and a conviction of their safety from misrule.

The colonies had become accustomed to contemplate themselves as sovereign states; and the governments of many expressed their desire that congress would declare them such to the world. On the 7th of June, a resolution to that effect was proposed, in that body, by Richard Henry Lee, of Virginia, and seconded by John Adams, of Massachusetts. While under consideration, the colonies which had not expressed their approbation of the measure, declared their concurrence. The resolution was adopted on the 2d day of July. A committee, consisting of Messrs. Jefferson, Adams, Franklin, Sherman, and Livingston, were instructed to prepare a Declaration of Independence, which, on the 4th of July, — a memorable day, — was almost unanimously adopted.

"We hold these truths," says this celebrated state paper, "to be self-evident — that all mankind are created equal; that they are endowed by their Creator with certain unalienable rights; that among these are life, liberty, and the pursuit of happiness; that, to secure these rights, governments are instituted among men, deriving their just powers from the consent of the governed; that, whenever any form of government becomes destructive of these ends, it is the right of the people to alter or abolish it, and to institute a new

government, laying its foundations on such principles, and organizing its powers in such form, as to them shall seem most likely to effect their safety and happiness."

To justify the exercise, on the present occasion, of the right here asserted, a long enumeration is made of the injuries inflicted upon the colonies, by the king of Great Britain, which is closed by declaring that "a prince whose character is thus marked by every act which may define a tyrant, is unfit to be the ruler of a free people."

The appeals which had been made to the people of Great Britain, are also recounted; "but they too have been deaf to the voice of justice and consanguinity. We must therefore acquiesce to the necessity which denounces our separation, and hold them, as we hold the rest of mankind, enemies in war, in peace friends.

"We, therefore, the representatives of the United States of America, in general congress assembled, appealing to the Supreme Judge of the world for the rectitude of our intentions, do, in the name, and by the authority, of the good people of these colonies, solemnly publish and declare, that these United Colonies are, and of right ought to be, FREE and INDEPENDENT STATES; that they are absolved from all allegiance to the British crown, and that all political connection between them and the state of Great Britain is, and of right ought to be, totally dissolved; and that, as free and independent states, they have full power to levy war, conclude peace, contract alliances, establish commerce, and do all other acts and things which independent states may of right do. And for the support of this declaration, with a firm reliance on the protection of Divine Providence, we mutually pledge to each other our lives, our fortunes, and our sacred honor."

This declaration was communicated to the army, and received with enthusiastic plaudits. A great majority of the people welcomed it with joy, which was displayed, in almost every city, by extraordinary

public festivities. A letter written by John Adams to his wife, on the 3d day of July, the day after the resolution was agreed to, transmits, better than the historian can describe, the feelings of the patriots of that time. "The day is past. The 2d day of July, 1776, will be a memorable epocha in the history of America. I am apt to believe it will be celebrated by succeeding generations as the Great Anniversary Festival. It ought to be commemorated, as the day of deliverance, by solemn acts of devotion to God Almighty. It ought to be solemnized with pomp, shows, games, sports, guns, bells, bonfires, and illuminations from one end of the continent to the other, from this time forward forever.

"You will think me transported with enthusiasm; but I am not. I am well aware of the toil, and blood, and treasure, that it will cost us to maintain this declaration, and support and defend these states. Yet, through all this gloom, I can see the rays of light and glory; I can see that the end is more than worth all the means, and that posterity will triumph, although you and I may rue, which I hope we shall not."

Unfortunately, an entire union of sentiment on the subject did not exist. Those who had been denominated tories were averse to a separation; and between them and the whigs, feelings of bitter hostility — the more bitter from their being fellow-countrymen — arose, and grew stronger as the contest proceeded. They were suspected and accused, doubtless in many cases justly, of acting as spies for the enemy. Many joined the royal armies; the property of many was confiscated; many were confined to their farms; many, by such tribunals as existed, were sentenced to be tarred and feathered; and many, whenever they could be caught, suffered that indignity without sentence or hearing. Ancient enmities were often thus gratified under color of patriotic indignation. Congress passed a resolution condemning and forbidding these lawless persecutions; but nothing could assuage the hatred which each class felt for the other.

During the spring and summer, unremitted exertions were made to fortify the city of New York, against which, it was supposed, the whole strength of the enemy would be next directed. In this crisis the people of that state acted with spirit and firmness. One fourth of the militia of the counties contiguous to the city, were called into the public service. Yet the means, in the power of the commander-in-chief, were not adequate to the emergency. He had under his command but fourteen thousand effective men; and was almost destitute of many articles which impart strength as well as comfort to an army. As it was in the power of the enemy to choose their point of attack, this force was necessarily divided. A part were stationed in the city, a part at Brooklyn, on Long Island, and small detachments at various other posts.

In the beginning of July, Admiral and General Howe arrived in the harbor of New York. They were accompanied by a powerful naval force, and by an army of twenty-four thousand men, abundantly supplied with military stores. The troops were landed on Staten Island, a position from which ulterior movements could most conveniently be made.

General Washington, presuming that the first attack would be made upon the posts at Brooklyn, strengthened it by a detachment of troops from the city, and gave the command of it to General Putnam. On the 22d of August, the British forces were landed on the opposite side of Long Island. The two armies were now about four miles asunder, and were separated by a range of hills, over which passed three main roads. Various circumstances led General Putnam to suspect that the enemy intended to approach him by the road leading to his right, which he therefore guarded with most care.

Very early in the morning of the 26th, his suspicions were strengthened by the approach, upon that road, of a column of British troops, and upon the centre road, of a column of Hessians. To oppose these, the American troops were mostly drawn from their camp,

and, in the engagements which took place, evinced considerable bravery.

These movements of the enemy were but feints to divert the attention of Putnam from the road which led to his left, along which General Clinton was silently advancing with the main body of the British army. The report of cannon in that direction gave the first intimation of the danger which was approaching. The Americans endeavored to escape it, by returning, with the utmost celerity, to their camp. They were not able to arrive there in time, but were intercepted by General Clinton, who drove them back upon the Hessians.

Attacked thus in front and rear, they fought a succession of skirmishes, in the course of which many were killed, many made prisoners, and several parties, seizing favorable opportunities, forced their way through the enemy, and regained the camp. A bold and vigorous charge, made by the American general, Lord Stirling, at the head of a Maryland regiment, enabled a large body to escape in this manner. This regiment, fighting with desperate bravery, kept a force greatly superior engaged, until their comrades had passed by, when the few who survived, ceasing to resist, surrendered to the enemy.

The loss of the Americans, in killed, wounded, and prisoners, considerably exceeded a thousand. Among the latter were Generals Sullivan, Stirling, and Woodhull. The total loss of the enemy was less than four hundred. They encamped at night before the American lines, and the next day began to erect batteries within six hundred yards of their left.

While the battle was raging, General Washington passed over to Brooklyn, where he witnessed, with inexpressible anguish, the destruction of his best troops, from which, such was the superiority of the enemy, it was impossible to save them. Finding the men dispirited by defeat, he determined to remove them to the city. The retreat was effected on the night of the 28th, with such silence and despatch, that, before the

suspicious of the enemy were excited, the last division of boats was beyond the reach of their fire.

So disheartened were the militia, that they deserted by companies; and even the regular troops were infected by their example. Near the middle of September, the commander-in-chief, fearing to be enclosed in the city, retired to the heights of Haerlem. The enemy immediately took possession. A few days afterwards, a fire broke out which consumed about a thousand houses.

General Washington, after reflecting upon the events which had already occurred; after considering the inexperience of his troops, the condition of the country, and the distance of the enemy from their resources, — determined to adopt a cautious system of warfare; to risk at present no general engagement; to harass and wear out the enemy by keeping them in continual motion; and to inspire his own troops with courage, by engaging them in skirmishes, in all cases where success was probable. In one, fought on the 6th of September, the brave Colonel Knowlton was killed; but the result was so decidedly favorable to the Americans, that the troops recovered their spirits; and the general was confirmed in the system he had adopted.

After the battle on Long Island, Admiral Howe sent General Sullivan, who was there made prisoner, to Philadelphia, with the message to the congress, that he and his brother, General Howe, had full powers to settle the dispute between Great Britain and the colonies; that he could not treat with the congress as such, but was desirous of meeting some of the members, as private individuals, at such place as they should appoint. Doctor Franklin, John Adams, and Edward Rutledge, were, in consequence, sent to Staten Island, where they had a conference with Admiral Howe in September. They told him that they came as a committee of congress, and must so consider themselves; but he might consider them in what light he pleased. The conference was short. He made no

proposition but that a general pardon should be granted, with such exceptions as might be thought expedient, upon the return of the colonies to their allegiance; adding, however, strong but vague assurances that there was a good disposition in the king and ministry to redress their grievances. The committee replied, that a return to the domination of Great Britain was not to be expected; that the colonies considered themselves independent states, but were desirous of peace, and were ready to conclude a treaty with Great Britain on terms that would be advantageous to both countries. An account of the conference was published, by order of the congress, for the information of their constituents. It revived in few or none the ancient sentiments of loyalty; in most it gave birth to feelings of contempt and disdain.

The movements of the enemy, in the beginning of October, indicated an intention of gaining the rear of the Americans, and cutting off their communication with the Eastern States. The army, therefore, quitting Haerlem, moved northward towards White Plains. General Howe pursued, making several attempts to bring on a general engagement, which Washington avoided by skilful changes of position. A partial action was fought, on the 28th of October, in which the loss on both sides was nearly equal.

Finding his antagonist too cautious to be drawn into the open field, and too strong to be attacked in his intrenchments, General Howe determined to return towards New York, and attack Forts Washington and Lee, situated opposite to each other on the banks of the Hudson, and about ten miles above the city. In these forts, garrisons had been left, from a wish to preserve the command of this important river. That in Fort Washington, consisting in part of militia, amounted to two thousand seven hundred men, under Colonel Magaw.

On the 16th of November, four divisions of the enemy's army, led by their principal officers, attacked it in four different quarters. The garrison, and par-

ticularly the riflemen under Colonel Rawlings, fought bravely. The Germans were several times driven back, with great loss. But these combined and vigorous attacks were at length successful. The ammunition in the fort being nearly exhausted, and all the outposts driven in, the commander, on being a second time summoned, agreed to capitulate on honorable terms. This was the severest blow the Americans had yet felt. The loss of the enemy, however, in killed and wounded, was supposed to be twelve hundred men.

Fort Lee was immediately evacuated, the garrison joining General Washington. He had previously, with one division of his army, crossed over into New Jersey, leaving the other, under the command of General Lee, in New York. His force, even when augmented by the garrison, consisted of but three thousand effective men; and they were destitute of tents, of blankets, and even of utensils to cook their provisions. His first station was Newark; but, the enemy pursuing him, he was compelled to retreat successively to Brunswick, to Princeton, to Trenton, and, finally, to cross the Delaware into Pennsylvania; and so close was the pursuit, that the advance of the British army was often in sight.

Small as was his force when the retreat began, it diminished daily. On the last of November, many of his troops were entitled to their discharge, and not one of them could be persuaded to continue another day in service. Such, he feared, would be the conduct of the remainder, whose time would expire at the end of the year. In this extremity, he urged General Lee to hasten to his assistance; but that officer, having other purposes in view, delayed his march. He called on the militia of New Jersey and Pennsylvania; but none obeyed his call. The population around him were hostile or desponding, and withheld all aid from an army whose career seemed near its termination.

In this darkest hour in American history, General Howe issued a proclamation commanding all persons

in arms against his majesty to disband themselves, and all congresses, committees, and associations, to desist from their treasonable doings, and relinquish their usurped authority; and he engaged that all persons who should, within sixty days, appear before a British officer, and subscribe a declaration that they would be obedient to his majesty, should receive a full and free pardon of all treasons committed. The contrast between a ragged, suffering, retreating army, and a full-clad, powerful, exulting foe, induced many, despairing of success, to subscribe the declaration and accept of pardon. Among them were Mr. Galloway and Mr. Allen, who had been members of the Continental congress.

A timely and eloquent address of the New York convention, published in answer to the proclamation, served to sustain and revive the courage of many. They referred to its artful misrepresentations and insidious promises; appealed to the love of liberty and the patriotism of the people; described, without palliation or concealment, the gloomy condition of affairs; and then held up to view the conduct of the Romans: "After the armies of Rome had been repeatedly defeated by Hannibal; when that imperial city was besieged by that brave general, at the head of a victorious army; so confident were they of their own prowess and of the protection of Heaven, that the very ground on which the Carthaginians were encamped sold at auction for more than the usual price. They disdained to receive the protection of Hannibal, or to regard his proclamations. They remembered that their ancestors had left them free—ancestors who had bled in rescuing their country from the tyranny of kings. They invoked the protection of the Supreme Being; they bravely defended their city, repelled the enemy, and recovered their country."

As the British army approached Philadelphia, congress adjourned to Baltimore, having previously invested General Washington with "full power to order and direct all things relative to the department and

to the operations of war." Such unlimited authority could not have been placed in hands more worthy to hold it. To the elastic energy of his mind, and his perfect self-possession in the most desperate circumstances, is America, in a great degree, indebted for her independence.

On the day that he was driven over the Delaware, the British took possession of Rhode Island. On the 13th of December, General Lee, having wandered from his army, was surprised and taken prisoner. In the experience and talents of this officer the people reposed great confidence, and they lamented his loss like that of an army. In its consequences, his capture was fortunate. The command of his division devolved upon General Sullivan, who conducted it promptly to General Washington, augmenting his army to nearly seven thousand effective men.

Still so much stronger were the enemy, that they regarded the rebels — for so they delighted to call the patriots of that day — as almost subdued, and doubted not that a vigorous attempt, whenever they should be disposed to make it, would place in their power the handful of men before them. They rioted upon the plunder of the country, and enjoyed in prospect the fruits of an assured and decisive victory.

Washington saw that this tide of ill fortune must be stemmed — must even be rolled back upon the enemy — or it would soon overwhelm his country. He resolved to hazard all that was left in one vigorous effort for victory. On the night of the 25th of December, at the head of two thousand four hundred men, he crossed the Delaware at Trenton, surprised a body of Hessians stationed at that place, took nine hundred prisoners, and immediately recrossed, having lost but nine of his men.

This sudden and severe blow awakened the enemy to activity. Cornwallis, who had repaired to New York, intrusting to his inferior officers the task of finishing the war, returned, with additional troops, to regain the ground that had been lost. He concentra-

ted his forces at Princeton ; and, soon after, Washington, having been joined by a body of Pennsylvania militia, and persuaded the New England troops to serve six weeks longer, again crossed the Delaware, and took post at Trenton.

On the 2d of January, 1777, the greater part of the British army marched to attack the Americans. In the evening, they encamped near Trenton, in full expectation of a battle and victory in the morning. Washington, sensible of the inferiority of his force,—sensible, too, that flight would be almost as fatal as defeat,—conceived another bold project, which he resolved instantly to execute.

About midnight, having renewed his fires, he silently decamped, and gaining, by a circuitous route, the rear of the enemy, marched towards Princeton, where he presumed Cornwallis had left a part of his troops. At sunrise, the van of the American forces met unexpectedly two British regiments. A sharp action ensued ; the former gave way. At this crisis, when all was at stake, the commander-in-chief led the main body to the attack. The enemy were routed, and fled. Fortunately, the heroic Washington, though exposed to both fires, and but a few yards distant from either party, escaped unhurt.

Instead of pursuing them, he pressed forward to Princeton, where one regiment yet remained. Part saved themselves by a precipitate flight ; about three hundred were made prisoners. The British loss in killed was upwards of one hundred ; the American was less, but in the number were the brave General Mercer, and several valuable officers. Among the wounded was Lieutenant James Monroe, afterwards raised to the highest office in the gift of his fellow-citizens.

In consternation, the British army immediately evacuated Trenton, and retreated to New Brunswick. The inhabitants, resuming their courage, and giving full force to their rage, which fear had smothered, took revenge for the brutalities they had suffered.

The enemy were driven from all their posts in New Jersey, except Amboy and Brunswick, and the American army obtained secure winter quarters at Morristown.

The brilliant victories at Trenton and Princeton raised, from the lowest depression, the spirits of the American people. They regarded Washington as the savior of his country. He became the theme of eulogy throughout Europe; and having displayed, as occasions demanded, the opposite qualities of caution and impetuosity, he received the honorable and appropriate appellation of the American Fabius.

During this year, the war was not confined wholly to the land. Even in 1775, many privateers were fitted out in the ports of Massachusetts: late in that year, congress authorized the construction of thirteen vessels of war carrying from twenty-four to thirty-two guns each; and a part of these were soon launched and made ready for sea. In the succeeding year, the privateers multiplied rapidly, and by them and the national cruisers many British merchantmen were captured. Immediately after the evacuation of Boston, thirty ships and several transports, carrying five hundred troops, bound to that port from England, were taken off the harbor. No where on the ocean were British merchantmen safe from American privateers. They ventured into the European seas, and even into the English Channel, where they made many valuable prizes. At one time, the alarm they occasioned was so great that British ships hardly dared venture to sea, and the rate of insurance rose enormously. The prizes were sent into the ports of France, Spain, and Holland, and there sold, without the formality of condemnation or trial. The number taken in this and the last year was estimated at eight hundred, and their value at five millions of dollars.

CHAPTER XXII.

CAMPAIGN OF 1777.

THE labors of the Continental congress were almost as arduous as those of the army. They were continually in session, and constantly occupied in the performance of multifarious, perplexing, and important duties. Their patriotism and firmness, when disaster and defeat had almost annihilated the American armies, entitles them to a high rank among the founders of the republic. They exhibited no symptom of faltering or of terror. In September, 1776, they voted to raise an army to take the place of that which was to be disbanded at the end of the year; and made sensible, by experience, that short enlistments had been the cause of most of the misfortunes of the country, they resolved that the new levies should be enlisted to serve three years, or during the war, at the option of the individual recruits. The new army was to consist of eighty battalions, of which New Hampshire was required to raise three; Massachusetts, fifteen; Rhode Island, two; Connecticut, eight; New York, four; New Jersey, four; Pennsylvania, twelve; Delaware, one; Maryland, eight; Virginia, fifteen; North Carolina, nine; South Carolina, six; Georgia, one. From this requisition some idea may be formed of the relative importance of the states at that period.

To raise money to pay and support their army was the most difficult of all their duties. They had begun by an emission of bills of credit similar to the treasury notes of later times; these for a while passed current at their nominal value, most people, while the amount was small, believing that they would be paid, and no patriot choosing to discredit by refusing them. Other emissions followed; the tories decried them, and they began to depreciate. In October, the congress, having no power to lay a tax, and fearing to destroy the

credit of their bills by increasing the amount, opened loan-offices in the several states, and proposed to borrow, at an interest of four per cent., five millions of dollars, reimbursable in three years. In this way sufficient relief was not obtained; and other emissions of paper money were from necessity made. To prevent it from depreciating still more, the congress, in January, 1777, resolved that it ought to be made a tender in payment of all public and private debts; and declared that any one who should refuse to receive it at the same rate as gold and silver, should be deemed an enemy to his country. This resolution had the force of law with some, but not with all. The bills continued to depreciate; or, in other words, the price of all articles rose, and rose enormously. Debtors paid in Continental money at par; but a man having property to sell, and knowing there was no other money in circulation, might, and did, set his own price upon it. Upon the recommendation of the congress, many, if not all, of the states then passed laws establishing the prices of various articles, especially of those wanted for the support of the army, and authorizing purchasing commissaries to take what, in their opinion, any owner could spare, at the established prices. Arbitrary as these measures were, the people, seeing that they were deemed necessary to accomplish their own object, submitted, few complaining, and none daring to resist.

The hope of foreign aid had, in all their disasters, cheered onward the congress as well as the people. To interest other nations in their cause, they solemnly declared that they would listen to no terms of peace which required a relinquishment of their independence, or which should deprive other nations of a free trade to their ports. They believed that the arrogant tone and lofty bearing of Great Britain, which her brilliant successes under Pitt had led her to assume, would induce the sovereigns of Europe to receive their applications with favor; and they relied still more on the hereditary enmity of France, imbittered by her late

humiliation. They therefore appointed political agents to Austria, Spain, Prussia, and Tuscany. They had before sent Silas Deane as secret agent to Paris, where he had been well received, and had, by the connivance of the ministry, obtained and forwarded considerable supplies of munitions of war. They now appointed, as commissioners to that court, Dr. Franklin, Mr. Deane, and Arthur Lee, instructing them to solicit a further supply of warlike stores, and the acknowledgment of the independence of the United States. Deane and Lee were already in Europe. Franklin arrived there in December. The cause of which he was the advocate, and his own great fame as a philosopher, procured him a flattering reception from all ranks of people. America, her minister, her struggle against oppression, became the themes of popular discourse, and the government itself became more and more propitious to her cause.

But they declined all open recognition of the new republic, knowing that a war with England would be the consequence. They granted aid, however, by permitting arms, covertly taken from the public arsenals, to be sent thither. They placed her trade and that of Great Britain on an equal footing. They connived at the sale, in their West India Islands, and even in the ports of France, of prizes taken by American privateers. They, enjoining secrecy, made the congress a donation of two millions of livres in money, and encouraged them to expect still more. Their conduct showed that they were willing to aid in distressing and humbling Great Britain; and were willing that the war between her and her colonies should be long protracted; but chose to avoid committing France as a party in the quarrel.

So popular was the cause of the United States, and so exalted the character of their military leader, that many French officers sought an opportunity of engaging in their service. Among these, the young marquis de la Fayette was most conspicuous for his rank, and most distinguished for his ardor and enthusiasm.

At an early period, he communicated to the American agents his wish to join the republican armies. At first, they encouraged his zeal ; but, learning the disasters which preceded the victory at Trenton, they, with honorable frankness, communicated the information to him, and added that they were so destitute of funds, that they could not even provide for his passage across the ocean.

"If your country," replied the gallant youth, "is indeed reduced to this extremity, it is at this moment that my departure to join her armies will render her the most essential service." He immediately hired a vessel to convey him to America, where he arrived in the spring of 1777. He was received with cordial affection by the people, became the bosom friend of Washington, solicited permission to serve without pay, and was appointed major-general in the army.

In the last campaign, more prisoners had been taken by the British than by the Americans. They were detained at New York, and were confined in churches and prison ships, where they endured the extremity of wretchedness. They were exposed, without fire and almost without clothes, to the inclemency of a severe winter ; were often whole days without food, and when food was offered, it was but a miserable pittance, damaged and loathsome. Many died of hunger, and more of diseases produced by their complicated sufferings.

Washington remonstrated with warmth, and threatened retaliation. After his victories in New Jersey, their treatment was less inhuman. An exchange was agreed upon ; but many, when attempting to walk from their places of confinement to the vessels provided to convey them away, fell and expired in the streets. Yet, in the midst of these unparalleled sufferings, they had exhibited fortitude more rare, and more honorable to human nature, than the highest display of valor in battle. To entice them to enlist in the royal army, they were promised relief from misery, and the enjoyment of abundance. They rejected

the offer with disdain ; thus giving to the world the noblest proof of the absence of all mercenary motive, and of the sincerity and fervor of their devotion to their country.

Before the campaign opened in the spring, a detachment of the royal army was sent to destroy a quantity of stores deposited, by the Americans, at Peekskill, about fifty miles above New York. The guard, being too few to defend them, set the store-houses on fire and withdrew. In April, Governor Tryon, appointed major-general, led another detachment, consisting of two thousand men, to destroy stores deposited at Danbury, in Connecticut. He proceeded from New York by water to the vicinity of Fairfield, where he landed, and marched to the place of his destination. Eighteen houses and a large quantity of pork, beef, wheat, and flour, and seventeen hundred tents, were burnt. About eight hundred of the inhabitants assembled, and, under the direction of Generals Wooster, Arnold, and Silliman, pursued the enemy on their return. Arnold, making a rapid movement, took post in their front ; Wooster attacked them in the rear. He was mortally wounded, and then his troops gave way. The enemy proceeded to Ridgefield, where they met Arnold, who had barricaded the road, but was compelled, after a smart contest of nearly an hour, to retreat. They remained there that night, in the morning set the village on fire, and pursued their march. At eleven, they again met Arnold, who accompanied them, skirmishing by the way, to their boats. They lost, in the expedition, about one hundred and seventy men ; the Americans, one hundred.

Retaliation quickly followed. It was known that the British had collected stores at Sag Harbor, on the east end of Long Island. In May, Lieutenant-Colonel Meigs, with one hundred and seventy men, embarked, at Guilford, in thirteen whale-boats, crossed the Sound, and landed near Southold. Thence the boats were carried fifteen miles over land to a bay, which was

crossed, and the troops were again put on shore four miles from Sag Harbor. Marching to this place, they completely surprised it, killed six men, took ninety prisoners, burnt twelve vessels loaded with forage, and returned without losing a man, having been absent but twenty-five hours, and in that time traversed ninety miles.

Near the end of May, the American army, which had been augmented by recruits to almost ten thousand men, moved from Morristown, and took a strong position at Middlebrook. The British, soon after, left their encampment, and General Howe endeavored, by various movements, to induce General Washington to quit his stronghold and meet him on equal ground. But the latter, adhering to his Fabian system of warfare, determined to remain in the position he had chosen.

General Howe, changing his purpose, transported his army to Staten Island. He there embarked sixteen thousand troops on board a large fleet, and, leaving Sir Henry Clinton in command at New York, put out to sea on the 26th of July. His destination was carefully kept secret. On the 20th of August, the fleet entered Chesapeake Bay, and rendered it certain that an attack upon Philadelphia was intended. The troops were landed at Elk Ferry, in Maryland, fifty miles south of that city.

The American army immediately crossed the Delaware, and, passing through Philadelphia, directed its march towards the enemy. The people, weary of delays and indecisive movements, demanded that a general engagement should be hazarded for the defence of the metropolis. Washington, yielding to their wishes, took a position on the eastern bank of Brandywine Creek, on the route between Elk Ferry and Philadelphia, and there awaited the approach of the enemy.

The British force was estimated at sixteen or eighteen thousand; the American, at eleven thousand. As the former advanced, contradictory accounts of its

movements embarrassed General Washington. In the forenoon of the 11th of September, one division, commanded by General Kniphausen, appeared, and made a feigned attempt to cross the creek at Chadsford, near which was stationed the American left wing. He was resisted, and a brisk action ensued. At two o'clock, Washington received certain information that the main body, having crossed the creek higher up, was hastening to attack the right flank of his right wing. That wing was immediately directed to change its position; and, as soon as it had done so, it was attacked with great fury. After a spirited but short contest, it gave way, and retreated upon the centre, then marching to support it, which also gave way, and retired down the creek to Chadsford. By this time, Kniphausen had crossed over, and attacked the left wing, which, on the arrival of the other divisions, gave way also, and the whole army retreated to Chester.

Several portions of the republican army, particularly a brigade of Virginia troops, exhibited in this battle great firmness and bravery. Its whole loss amounted to twelve hundred men; that of the British to no more than half that number. This disparity of loss was attributed to the circumstance that the American muskets, being obtained from various sources, were of different sizes, and the cartridges of course were not suitable for all. The marquis de la Fayette, and Pulaski, a Polish nobleman, took part in the engagement, and the former was wounded. The next day, the army retreated still farther, and encamped in the vicinity of Germantown. The result of the battle dispirited neither the people nor the congress; and both insisted that another should be hazarded for the safety of Philadelphia.

To prevent the enemy from entering that city by the lower road, the bridge over the Schuylkill was removed. General Howe directed his march towards the Lancaster road near Goshen; and Washington, crossing the Schuylkill, marched towards the same

point, with the view of offering him battle. On the 16th, the two armies came in sight of each other, and both, with alacrity, made preparation for the conflict. The advanced parties had met, when it began to rain, at first gently, but soon with such violence, as to put an end to all fighting. On examination, the muskets and powder of the Americans were found to have received so much injury as to be unfit for use; and Washington again crossed the Schuylkill, and encamped on its northern bank.

The severity of the weather detained General Howe on the ground until the 18th, when he proceeded on his march. General Wayne, with his division, hung upon his rear, encamping in the woods, where he believed himself secure; but most of the inhabitants around him were disaffected, and General Howe, receiving accurate accounts of his situation and force, despatched General Grey to surprise him. The fire of his picket guard, in the night of the 20th, gave the first intelligence of his danger. The troops were instantly formed, but, being fiercely assailed, soon broke and fled, leaving nearly three hundred killed and wounded.

Having thus secured his rear, Howe proceeded to the Schuylkill, halting near but above the American encampment, the river running between them. Washington moved higher up, placing himself between the enemy and Reading, where a large quantity of stores was deposited. In the night of the 22d, Howe began a rapid march down the river towards Philadelphia. In a council of war, it was unanimously decided that pursuit was inexpedient: he entered the city on the 26th, the congress, which had returned thither in March, having previously adjourned to Lancaster. The main body of his army was encamped at Germantown.

General Howe and his friends boasted that he had outgeneralled the rebel commander; but neither he nor they were aware of the weakness of his army. It was inferior in numbers, and a part were undisci-

plined militia ; it was deficient in arms, in provisions, and in clothing ; and fatigue and suffering detracted, besides, much from its efficiency. After the battle of Brandywine, the troops were often separated from their baggage ; were often exposed to heavy rains without shelter ; many were obliged to march without shoes, and to sleep on the ground without blankets. Could they have been required to fight and conquer such an army as Howe's ?

The transactions of the contending armies at the north, since the termination of the expedition to Canada, now demand our attention. The Americans halted at Crown Point, the British at St. Johns, and both employed the remainder of the summer in building vessels and making preparations to secure the command of Lake Champlain.

On the 11th of October, 1776, the American and British squadrons met, Colonel Arnold, who had been a sailor in his youth, commanding the former. After a short contest, the enemy, not being then able to bring their whole force into action, retired. The next day, they returned to the combat, and, being greatly superior, drove the American squadron before them to the head of the lake. A sharp action then took place ; the officers and men fought gallantly ; but Arnold, losing a part of his force, and perceiving defeat to be inevitable, ran the remainder of his vessels on shore, and set them on fire.

Winter approaching, Governor Carleton returned with his troops to Canada. General Burgoyne, who had served under him during the last campaign, made a voyage to England to concert a plan for future operations. It was determined that a powerful army, departing from Montreal, should proceed, by way of Lake Champlain, to the Hudson, with the view of obtaining, by the coöperation of the army at New York, the entire command of that river. All communication between the states of New England and the others lying south of them, would thus be prevented. Either section, alone and unsupported, could, it was supposed,

be easily subdued ; and the whole strength of the nation might then be directed against the other.

Nothing was omitted which might insure the success of this project. Seven thousand choice troops, to be sent from England, were allotted to the service. They were supplied with an excellent train of brass artillery, and with every thing which could add to their efficiency as an army. Explicit instructions were sent to Governor Carleton, who was averse to employing Indians in the war, to invite all of them to accompany the expedition ; and though he had been active, faithful, and successful, the ministry, passing by his claims, appointed Burgoyne to command it, selecting Generals Phillips, Reidesel, Frazer, and Specht, officers of distinguished reputation, to serve under him.

General Schuyler, of New York, a worthy officer, but not distinguished for brilliant military talents, had the chief command in the northern department. He was indefatigable in making preparations for defence ; and such was his zeal in the cause of independence, and such his deserved popularity in his native state, that he doubtless accomplished more than any other person could have done. Still, at a late period in the spring, the fortifications were incomplete ; and as rumors were circulated, probably by the tories, that the expedition would land at New York, and not at Quebec, and as General Schuyler unfortunately was not popular in New England, but few troops came to his aid from that region.

Very early in the season, Burgoyne arrived at Quebec. He immediately despatched Colonel St. Leger, with a party of regulars, tories, and Indians, by the way of the St. Lawrence and Oswego to Fort Schuyler, formerly Fort Stanwix, and situated in the present township of Rome ; and directed him, after taking possession of that fort, to proceed down the Mohawk, and join him at Albany. With the main army, augmented in Canada to ten thousand men, he, in June, 1777, entered the territory of the States, by the way of

Lake Champlain. He halted at Crown Point, and, at the mouth of the little river Boquet, had a conference with a large body of Indians, who had been collected to accompany him. In his address to them, he endeavored, with commendable humanity, and in utter ignorance, perhaps, of the futility of his efforts, to explain to them the difference between civilized and savage warfare, and strictly enjoined them to spare old men, women, and children. In a proclamation soon after addressed to the people whom he had come to subdue, he, in the language of bombast, magnified his own strength, reproved them for their offences, assured them that they could find safety only in submission, and threatened "to let loose upon them the thousands of Indians under his control, who would penetrate into their most secret retreats, and punish with condign severity the hardened enemies of Great Britain." The effect of this proclamation was far different from that expected by its author. Its bombast and reproofs excited ridicule; its threats, indignation.

Ticonderoga stands a short distance in advance of Crown Point. Its fortifications were extensive and strong; but the garrison was insufficient to defend them against so powerful a force. The post was commanded by General St. Clair; and he knew that his superiors and the people supposed that he could, and expected that he would, make a resolute and successful resistance. The desire to fulfil this expectation led to the greatest error of this campaign — not abandoning the post in season. Burgoyne appeared before it on the 1st of July; and his measures to invest it were planned with skill and pursued with energy and activity. A council of war, summoned by St. Clair, decided unanimously that it must be immediately abandoned. It was evacuated on the night of the 5th, the troops crossing Lake Champlain, and retreating towards Castleton, in Vermont. The enemy pursued, and, on the morning of the 7th, their van overtook and attacked the American rear, under Colonels Francis and Warner. The action was warm and well con-

tested; but, other troops arriving to the aid of the British, the Americans were compelled to give way.

The retreat now became precipitate and disorderly; the pursuit, rapid and persevering. At length, the republican army, diminished in number, exhausted by fatigue, and dispirited by misfortunes, arrived, by various routes, at Fort Edward, on the Hudson, the head-quarters of General Schuyler. Seldom has a fugitive army suffered greater misery in flight. It is supposed that many died of fatigue and hunger in the woods. These disastrous events spread terror and dismay throughout the land. The people, ignorant of the weakness of the army, attributed its retreat to cowardice or treachery, and trembled at the dangers which menaced them from the British, Germans, and savages.

The royal forces, elated by success, proceeded through the wilderness towards Fort Edward. Their progress was slow and toilsome. General Schuyler, on their approach, evacuated the fort, and retired across the Hudson to Saratoga. Soon after, he descended the river to Stillwater; and, the British continuing to advance, he retreated, on the 14th of August, to the islands at the confluence of the Mohawk and Hudson, a few miles north of Troy. About the same time, intelligence was received, that St. Leger had arrived at Fort Schuyler, and invested it.

The American general, before leaving Fort Edward, issued a proclamation calling to his aid the militia of New England and New York. Aroused by the danger, multitudes obeyed his call. Vermont poured forth her daring Green Mountain boys; the other states of New England, their hardy yeomanry, ardent in the cause of freedom; New York, her valiant sons, indignant at this invasion of her territory, and determined to protect their property from pillage and destruction. These beset the invaders on every side, impeding their progress, cutting off their supplies, and fatiguing them by incessant attacks.

Burgoyne, finding it difficult to transport his pro-

visions through the wilderness, despatched Colonel Baum, with five hundred Hessians, to seize a quantity of beef and flour which the Americans had collected and deposited at Bennington. Fortunately, General Stark, at the head of a party of New Hampshire militia, had just arrived at that place, on his way to the main army, and been joined by volunteers from the immediate neighborhood. Baum, ascertaining their number to be greater than his own, halted near Bennington, erected breastworks, and sent back for a reënforcement.

In several skirmishes between small detachments, the militia were uniformly successful. This sharpening their courage, Stark resolved to attack the main body. On the 16th of August, a fierce and sanguinary battle took place. For two hours, the Hessians fought bravely; but their works, assaulted by braver troops, were at length entered, and most of the detachment either killed or made prisoners.

Just after this action had terminated, Colonel Breyman arrived with the reënforcement sent to Baum. The militia, apprehending no danger, had dispersed in pursuit of plunder or the fugitives. By carelessness was nearly lost all that by valor had been gained. Happily, at this critical juncture, Colonel Warner arrived from Manchester with a Continental regiment, and immediately fell upon Breyman. The militia, rallying, hastened to his aid. The battle continued until sunset, when the enemy retreated, and under cover of the night the greater part effected their escape.

The tide of fortune was now turned. The decisive victory at Bennington diffused confidence and joy. The friends of independence, before depressed by disaster and defeat, were now animated by the prospect, which suddenly burst upon them, of a glorious victory over an arrogant and once dreaded enemy. The greatest zeal and activity were every where displayed. Again crowds of militia flocked to the republican camp.

In the mean time, St. Leger had pressed with vigor the siege of Fort Schuyler; but the garrison, under the command of Colonels Gansevoort and Willett, had defended it with great fortitude and bravery. Aware of the importance of the post, General Herkimer collected the militia of Tryon county, and marched to its relief. St. Leger, hearing of his approach, despatched a party of regulars and Indians to meet him. He advanced with culpable negligence, was waylaid, suddenly attacked with the usual fury of savages, and himself and four hundred others, among whom were the principal citizens of the county, inhumanly slaughtered.

Colonel Willett, apprized of the approach of Herkimer, made a sally from the fort on the day he was expected to reach it. He broke into the enemy's camp, drove them out of it into the woods, killed many, and returned without loss, bringing back besieging utensils and many other trophies of victory. Shortly after, he accomplished a still more hazardous enterprise. He, with a single companion, passed in the night through the camp of the besiegers, and travelled fifty miles, in a pathless wilderness, to convey information of the imminent danger of the garrison, and collect forces for its relief.

St. Leger announced to Colonel Gansevoort the victory he had gained over Herkimer, summoned him to surrender, and assured him, if he did not, that not only the garrison, but every man, woman, and child, in the Mohawk country, must fall victims to savage ferocity. This bravado failed to intimidate; it rather convinced Colonel Gansevoort of St. Leger's weakness. His Indian allies, in fact, wearied with the protracted labors of the siege, had become ungovernable, and threatened to leave him. At this time, General Arnold, sent by Schuyler, was approaching, by the way of the Mohawk, with a large force, to the relief of the fort. Of this the Indians, by their scouts, soon gained intelligence. At the name of Arnold, they were seized with terror, and declared peremptorily to

St. Leger, that they would retire alone, if he did not himself retreat. He soon found that he had no alternative. On the 22d of August, abandoning his baggage and stores, he began a precipitate flight towards Lake Oneida, the regulars suffering on the way, from their Indian allies, cruelties almost equal to those usually inflicted by savages upon their enemies. Intelligence of the result of the siege soon came to cheer the American forces on the Hudson.

The disasters which befell this army at the commencement of the campaign induced congress to recall the generals who commanded it, and to appoint, in their places, Generals Gates, Lincoln, and Arnold. Having the control of more abundant and powerful means, they acted with more energy and boldness. Gates, leaving the encampment on the islands, to which Schuyler had retreated, advanced, in the beginning of September, to the neighborhood of Stillwater.

Burgoyne, after the defeat of Baum, was obliged to have recourse, for provisions, to the magazines at Fort George. The laborious task of transporting them through the wilderness to the Hudson being accomplished, he moved forward, and, on the 17th of September, encamped within four miles of the American army.

The next day, the first battle of Stillwater was fought. It was begun by skirmishes between the scouting parties of the two armies, which were respectively and repeatedly reënforced, until nearly the whole of each was engaged. Both fought with determined resolution; they alternately drove and were driven by each other. A continual blaze of fire was kept up. Men, and particularly officers, dropped every moment and on every side. Night put an end to the conflict.

The American army retired to their camp; the British lay on their arms near the field of battle. The loss of the former was three hundred and nineteen; that of the latter exceeded five hundred. Each claimed the victory. The consequences of defeat were

felt by the British alone. Their hopes of success were diminished; their Indian allies, the Canadians, and Tories, were disheartened, and deserted them.

Pressed on all sides, Burgoyne made frequent and urgent applications to Sir Henry Clinton, at New York, for aid, and informed him that, in expectation of such aid, he would maintain his present position until the 12th of October. He diminished the allowance of provisions to his soldiers, and having waited until the 7th, without receiving any intelligence from Clinton, determined to make another trial of strength with his adversary.

He made dispositions to commence the action with the right wing of his army; Gates, discovering his design, made a sudden and vigorous attack upon the left. In a short time, the whole of both armies were engaged. This battle was furious, obstinate, and more bloody than the other. Arnold was eminently distinguished for his bravery and rashness. Towards night, the enemy, who had fought with desperate valor, gave way. A part of their works were stormed and taken, and more than two hundred men made prisoners.

Darkness put an end to this action also. The Americans lay upon their arms near the enemy's lines, intending to renew the battle the next day; but Burgoyne, during the night, withdrew to a stronger position. Gates forbore to pursue, believing that a bloodless victory was now in his power.

In the mean time, Sir Henry Clinton despatched General Vaughan with three thousand men, to endeavor to relieve Burgoyne. He ascended the Hudson, and, on the 6th of October, assaulted and took Fort Montgomery; but, instead of hastening forward, he consumed a whole week in pillaging and burning Esopus, and other flourishing villages on the river. He perhaps expected that this wanton destruction of property would draw off a part of the forces under Gates; but it had no other effect than to exasperate the inhabitants.

Burgoyne, perceiving that his antagonist was endeavoring to surround him, retreated to the heights of Saratoga. The Americans pursued, keeping a sufficient force on the east bank of the river to prevent him from crossing. The situation of the British troops was now distressing in the extreme. Many of their most valued officers had been killed. Their strength was exhausted by incessant exertion; they were almost encircled by their enemy, and were greatly annoyed by a continual and destructive cannonade. From this forlorn condition but one mode of escape remained — a forced march in the night to Fort George. This expedient was resolved on, and preparations were made; but the scouts sent out returned with intelligence that all the passes were guarded by strong bodies of militia.

An account of provisions was then taken, and a supply for no more than three days was found on hand. No hope of rescue within that time could be indulged. Burgoyne summoned his principal officers to a council. It is said that, while deliberating, a cannon ball crossed the table around which they sat. By their unanimous advice, he opened a negotiation with the American general, and, on the 17th of October, surrendered his whole army prisoners of war.

Great were the rejoicings occasioned by this glorious victory. Many supposed that it would terminate the contest. In the joy of success, all feelings of resentment were forgotten. From regard to the feelings of the vanquished, General Gates, while they were piling their arms, kept the victorious troops within his camp. The British officers, in social converse with the Americans, were led to forget their misfortune; and the troops, when on their march to Massachusetts, did not receive from the people that vindictive treatment which their distressing depredations, and those of their fellow-soldiers under Vaughan, would have excused, if not justified.

Against this band of marauders General Gates marched soon after the capitulation was signed; but,

on learning the fate of Burgoyne, they retired to New York. About the same time, the garrison left at Ticonderoga, having rendered their cannon useless, returned to Canada, and the northern department was restored to perfect tranquillity.

While the exertions of the northern army were rewarded by brilliant success, that stationed in Pennsylvania, equally brave and meritorious, but exhausted by fatigue and suffering, and enfeebled by detachments which Washington generously spared to Gates, sustained further reverses. We left it encamped on the north bank of the Schuylkill, near Pottsgrove; it afterwards moved down to Skippach Creek, about sixteen miles from Germantown, where the main body of the British army was stationed. General Washington, having learnt that small detachments had been made from the latter, determined to attack it.

On the 3d of October, at seven o'clock in the evening, his army, in divisions, moved, by several roads, towards Germantown. These different divisions were directed to attack different parts of the British encampment, which was somewhat extensive. The march was rapid and silent; but intelligence of their approach was received by the enemy, by three o'clock the next morning, when they were immediately paraded. At sunrise, the first division of the Americans, under General Sullivan, arrived and made a bold and vigorous attack. So spirited was the onset, that the enemy, unable to sustain it, fled. But six British companies, while retreating, took possession of a large stone house, from which, in entire safety, they poured a destructive fire upon the American troops. A portion of the latter assaulted this fortress, and the remainder continued the pursuit of the retreating forces. The second division, under General Greene, came into the field, attacked and drove the enemy, and a complete victory appeared in prospect.

But the American troops, pursuing over uneven ground, separated into small parties: at this moment, a very thick fog arose, and each party lost sight of

the other and of the enemy. Unacquainted with the ground, and unable to act with decision, they faltered in the pursuit. The fugitives rallied; the division destined against the British left not having arrived, a brigade from that wing came to their assistance; and the Americans in their turn retreated, but withdrew from the field in good order, and returned without molestation to their late encampment.

In this action, in which fortune snatched victory from the grasp of the Americans, they sustained a loss of twelve hundred men; that of the British was less than six hundred. But the vanquished sustained no loss of reputation nor confidence. Their country applauded the boldness of the attempt, and the enemy felt higher respect for their courage and discipline.

The British army soon after left Germantown, and marched to attack the American posts on the River Delaware below Philadelphia. On the 22d of October, a body of twelve hundred Hessians, commanded by Count Donop, made an intrepid assault upon the fortifications at Red Bank. They were repulsed with great loss, and their gallant leader killed.

Fort Mifflin, on Mud Island, was next attacked. For six days it was bravely defended. It was then evacuated, the works having been almost demolished by the enemy's artillery. Preparations being made for a second assault, with a much larger force, upon the post at Red Bank, that was also evacuated; and thus was opened a free communication between the British army and their fleet, which had sailed round to the mouth of the Delaware.

After several movements of the respective armies, which had no important result, General Washington withdrew to winter quarters in the woods of Valley Forge. His troops were destitute of shoes, and might have been tracked by the blood of their feet. They passed the winter in huts, suffered extreme distress from want of clothing and of food, but endured their privations without a murmur. How strong must have

been their love of liberty ! With what lively gratitude ought a prosperous country, indebted to them for the most valuable blessings, to remember their sufferings and services !

CHAPTER XXIII.

CAMPAIGN OF 1778.

WHEN the Continental congress was first constituted, it possessed no other powers than such as were conferred by the credentials and instructions given, by the state legislatures, to their respective delegates. In the ardor of the contest, the inquiry was seldom made whether, in all cases, the authority which it exercised, had been specifically granted ; but the members preferred that the extent and limit of their own powers should be more exactly defined. Early in 1776, the resolution to declare the colonies independent having been agreed to, but before the declaration was adopted, a committee, consisting of a member from each colony, was appointed to report a plan of union or confederation.

The plan was reported in July, and remained under the consideration of congress until near the close of the last year. The points upon which agreement was most difficult were, the mode of voting in congress ; the rule for apportioning among the states the expenses of the Union ; and the right to the ungranted or crown lands, especially in those states whose charter limits extended to the Mississippi or Pacific Ocean.

The plan gave to each state one vote, according to the regulation then in force. Some members insisted that every state should have the right to send delegates according to the number of its white inhabitants,

er to the amount of its contributions, and that each delegate should have a vote. A majority at length adopted the proposition of the committee.

The committee reported that the expenses of the Union should be borne by the states according to the number of white inhabitants in each. In congress, in committee of the whole, a majority decided that they should be apportioned according to the whole number of inhabitants, excluding Indians. Slaves being included, those states in which they were most numerous, were much dissatisfied with this decision, and finally induced a majority of the states to agree that the expenses should be apportioned according to the value of the land, buildings, and improvements.

In the plan reported, nothing was proposed in relation to the western lands. Some of the members pertinaciously insisted that, as those lands were the property of the crown, and would, if independence was obtained, be wrested from it by united efforts, and at the common expense, they ought to become the joint property of the whole confederacy. Those states within whose charter limits lay the most extensive tracts of these lands, strenuously resisted this reasonable claim, and finally compelled a majority of the states to assent to a union without making any provision in regard to them.

The "Articles of Confederation" were adopted in congress, on the 15th of November, and immediately transmitted to the several states for their ratification. They bound the states in a firm league of friendship with each other, for the common defence and the security of their liberties. Delegates, not less than two nor more than seven from a state, were to be annually appointed, who, when assembled in congress, were authorized to carry on war, to make peace, to borrow money, to emit bills of credit, and to exercise all the powers of sovereignty in relation to foreign nations. They were also authorized to determine the number of men and the amount of money to be raised, and to assign to each state its just pro-

portion. And the Articles contained many other regulations of minor importance.

But so unwilling were the individual states to relinquish their recently-assumed independence, that they withheld from congress the authority to make laws which should operate directly upon the people; they granted to it no control over commerce; and they reserved to themselves the right to raise their proportions of money in such manner as each might deem most expedient. They gave to congress the right to make requisitions, but no power to compel obedience.

In the late campaign, the troops had suffered severely from the want of provisions and clothing; and censure fell heavily upon the commissary department. That department, in all countries and in all wars, affords the most opportunities for speculation; and though the war of the revolution had patriotism for its motive, and liberty for its object, some, doubtless, engaged in it from love of gain, and sought to grow rich by cheating the soldier or defrauding the country. That the instances of corruption were fewer than was suspected is probable. Congress, however, made a thorough reform in the department, appointing Jeremiah Wadsworth, of Connecticut, commissary-general. And in order to introduce into the army a uniform system of tactics and discipline, they resolved that an inspector-general should be appointed. Subsequently they elected to that office the Baron Steuben, a native of Prussia, who had served in a high station in the army of Frederick the Great, and was well versed in the system of manœuvres introduced by that celebrated commander.

The misfortunes, in the last campaign, of the army under Washington, contrasted with the brilliant achievement of that of the north, furnished to the friends of other prominent officers an opportunity to whisper doubts of his energy and military talents; and such doubts were, with less caution, uttered by some who were ardent in their zeal, but ignorantly

considered success the only test of merit. That a project was formed to procure his dismissal is believed; but with whom it originated, or who gave it countenance, has never been clearly ascertained. Lee, who had lately been exchanged, and Gates, were alluded to as possessing more qualities essential in a commander-in-chief. A loud and hearty expression of confidence in the integrity and capacity of Washington silenced at once those timid whispers, and re-proved the utterance of all honest doubts.

The signal victory at Saratoga exalted the reputation of the American republic in every part of Europe. The French ministry, apprehensive, doubtless, that Great Britain might now offer such favorable terms of pacification as would induce the colonies, if not powerfully supported, to resume their connection with the empire, no longer hesitated to acknowledge their independence. On the 6th of February, they concluded, with the American commissioners, treaties of commerce and of alliance, in which they assented to terms highly advantageous to the States. The news of this important event, rendering almost certain the successful issue of the contest, occasioned in America the liveliest joy, and the most ardent gratitude to France.

Among the people of Great Britain, the defeat of their favorite general produced astonishment, dismay, and indignation. The most brilliant success was anticipated; the most ignominious result had occurred. The pride of the nation was humbled, and they who had disapproved of the war poured upon the ministry a torrent of invective. To increase the bitterness of their chagrin, they soon learned the course which their hereditary enemy and rival had resolved to pursue.

It was now determined, in the cabinet, to grant to America all that she had demanded in the beginning of the contest. An act was passed, declaring that parliament would not, in future, impose any tax upon the colonies; and commissioners were sent over,

authorized to proclaim a repeal of all the offensive statutes, and to treat with the constituted authorities of America.

The commissioners, arriving at Philadelphia in the spring, communicated to congress the terms offered by Great Britain, which were at once unanimously rejected. Failing in the use of direct and honorable means, they attempted bribery and corruption. To Joseph Reed, a general in the army and a member of congress, an offer was made of ten thousand pounds sterling, and any office within his majesty's gift in the colonies, if he would endeavor to effect a reunion of the two countries. "I am not worth purchasing," he nobly replied, "but such as I am, the king of Great Britain is not rich enough to do it."

On receiving official notification of the treaties concluded with her revolted colonies, Great Britain declared war against France; and the ministry, presuming that assistance would be sent them, transmitted orders by the commissioners, that Philadelphia should be evacuated, and the royal troops concentrated at New York. The execution of these orders devolved upon Sir Henry Clinton, who, General Howe having resigned, had been appointed commander-in-chief. On the 18th of June, the enemy quitted the city, and marched slowly eastward.

Washington, leaving his huts in the forest, hung upon the rear of the British army, desirous himself of seizing the first favorable opportunity to attack it. He twice proposed the measure to a council of war; but the majority, in both cases, decided against it. He determined, however, to make the attack on his own responsibility. Lee, being senior major-general, could have claimed the command of the front division; but, as he had given his advice against hazarding an action, he yielded his claim to La Fayette. That general was therefore ordered to advance, at the head of four thousand men, and be ready to attack the rear, and smaller bodies were sent forward to fall on the flanks of the enemy.

After La Fayette began his march, Lee, changing his mind, solicited the command which at first he had declined. Washington, in consequence, sent him forward, with two additional brigades, stipulating, however, that if, before his arrival, La Fayette had determined on any particular movement, he should still retain the command. At this time, the enemy were stationed on commanding ground, near Monmouth court-house, in New Jersey; and Lee was ordered to keep his troops in readiness to fall on their rear, as soon as they should leave that position.

At five in the morning of the 28th of June, intelligence was received that the front of the British army was in motion. Lee was immediately ordered to move on and commence an attack, "unless there should be powerful reasons to the contrary;" and was assured that the main army would be on its march to support him. He moved forward accordingly; but soon received information, which, after going forward to reconnoitre, he believed to be true, that Clinton, with his whole force, was marching back to attack him. He gave orders to retreat to a stronger position, which he had just passed over; but of this movement, and the object of it, he sent no information to Washington. The enemy soon came up, and pressed vigorously on his rear. Washington, hastening forward to support Lee, soon met the advance of the retiring party, and could learn from them no reason for the retreat. He hastened to Lee, who was in the rear, then engaged with the enemy, and addressed him with warmth, in words implying disapprobation of his conduct; but, soon recovering his serenity, gave orders which Lee executed with fidelity and bravery. The action continued, the Americans gaining slight advantages in various parts of the field, until Sir Henry Clinton withdrew, collecting his forces on ground so strong that Washington, the day being almost spent, concluded not to assail it. He made preparations, however, to renew the battle in the morning.

But the British general determined not to await an attack. Early in the night, he silently left his position, and proceeded on his way to New York. As the country, through which lay the remainder of his route, was more favorable to a retreating than to a pursuing army, Washington forbore to follow. Clinton was satisfied that he had checked his pursuers, and escaped from their annoyance. The Americans insisted that the battle had terminated in their favor. The number of men in each army was about equal. The Americans lost three hundred, the British five hundred men. Heat and excessive fatigue proved fatal to many.

Lee, irritable and proud, could not forget the manner in which Washington had addressed him; and wrote to him two passionate letters, in which, in the tone of a superior, he demanded reparation. Washington, in reply, assured him that, as soon as circumstances would permit, he should have an opportunity to justify his conduct before a court of inquiry. Lee insisted on being tried immediately by a court-martial. He was accordingly brought to trial, charged with disobedience of orders in not attacking the enemy; with making an unnecessary and disorderly retreat; and with disrespect to the commander-in-chief in the two letters addressed to him. The court found him guilty on all the charges, and sentenced him to be suspended from command for one year; which sentence congress, though with some hesitation, approved almost unanimously. He was suspected of being willing, at least, that Washington should continue to be unsuccessful; what influence this suspicion had on the court can now be only the subject of conjecture. That he was clearly guilty of the last charge rendered his sentence acceptable to the army and the people, who, devotedly attached to the commander-in-chief, could tolerate no one who treated him with arrogance or disrespect. He never afterwards joined the army, but died in seclusion just before the close of the war.

The enemy having entered New York, Washington conducted his army to White Plains. Congress returned to Philadelphia; and in July received, with inexpressible joy, a letter from the count d'Estaing, announcing his arrival on the coast of the United States, with a large fleet, which had been sent, by the king of France, to assist them in their struggle for independence.

The count intended to surprise Admiral Howe in the Delaware; but adverse winds detained him on the passage, until the British fleet had sailed for New York. He appeared before that harbor, but, on sounding, found that his largest ships could not enter it. A combined attack, by land and water, upon the British forces at Newport, in Rhode Island, was then projected.

General Sullivan, who had been appointed to command the troops, called upon the militia of New England to aid him in the enterprise. His army soon amounted to ten thousand men; and, as he was supported by the fleet, he felt confident of success. On the 9th of August, he took a position on the north end of Rhode Island, and afterwards moved nearer to Newport. Admiral Howe, having received a reënforcement, now appeared before the harbor; and the count instantly put to sea to attack him.

While making the preparatory manœuvres, a furious storm came on, which damaged and dispersed both fleets. As soon as the weather would permit, each commander sought the port from which he had sailed. The army, intent upon their own object, witnessed with joy the return of the French fleet; and great was their disappointment when the count announced his intention of proceeding to Boston to refit. The American officers remonstrated; but he was inflexible, and departed.

The army, deserted by the fleet, could remain no longer, with safety, on the island, as the enemy might easily transport, by water, large reënforcements from New York to Newport. General Sullivan immediately

retreated to his first position. He was pursued, and, shortly after halting, was attacked by the enemy. They were gallantly resisted, and repulsed with loss.

The next day, the two armies cannonaded each other; and, the succeeding night, the American general, deceiving the enemy by a show of resistance to the last, made a skilful retreat to the continent. A few hours afterwards, the British received such an augmentation of their force, that all resistance, on the part of the Americans, would have been vain. At the close of the season, the French fleet sailed to the West Indies.

The king of France, having acknowledged the independence of the United States, sent M. Gerard as his minister plenipotentiary to the congress. On the 6th of August, he had his first public audience of that body. All the members, the authorities of Pennsylvania, many officers of the army and strangers of note, were present. The minister delivered his credentials, signed by Louis XVI., and directed to his "very dear great friends and allies," made a speech, and was answered by Henry Laurens, then president of the congress. In September, Benjamin Franklin was appointed sole minister plenipotentiary to the French court. Gerard, in consequence of ill health, soon after returned home, and the chevalier de la Luzerne was appointed to succeed him.

During this year, the British troops and their allies displayed, in several instances, a degree of barbarity seldom equalled in contests between civilized nations. That they were contending against revolted subjects, seemed to release them, in their view, from all regard to the common usages of war. The late alliance with France, the hated rival of their nation, increased their hostility. Instead of striving to conquer an honorable foe, they thirsted as for vengeance on a criminal and outlaw.

With such vindictive feelings, Wyoming, a happy and flourishing settlement in Pennsylvania, was attacked by a band of tories and Indians. The men

were butchered, the houses burned, and the cattle driven off or killed. Those who had been made widows and orphans were left without shelter and without food. Seldom has war spread distress and ruin over a more delightful region. New Bedford, Martha's Vineyard, Egg Harbor, and Cherry Valley, were also visited and ravaged by the enemy. All the property within reach was destroyed, and multitudes of peaceful and unoffending inhabitants were reduced to poverty and wretchedness.

But in no instance did the enemy evince more ferocious, unrelenting cruelty, than in their attack upon Colonel Baylor's troop of light dragoons. While asleep in a barn at Tappaan, they were surprised by a party under General Grey, who commanded his soldiers to use the bayonet only, and to give the rebels no quarter. Incapable of defence, they sued for mercy. But the most pathetic supplications were heard without awakening compassion in the commander. Nearly one half of the troop were killed. To many, repeated thrusts were barbarously given as long as signs of life remained. Several who had nine, ten, and eleven stabs through the body, and were left for dead, afterwards recovered. A few escaped, and forty were saved by the humanity of a British captain, who dared to disobey the orders of his general.

Late in the fall, the army under Washington erected huts near Middlebrook, in New Jersey, in which they passed the winter. In this campaign, but little on either side was accomplished. The alliance with France gave birth to expectations which events did not fulfil; yet the presence of her fleets on the coast deranged the plans of the enemy, and induced them to relinquish a part of their conquests. At the close of the year, it was apparent that Great Britain had made no progress in the accomplishment of her purposes.

The Articles of Confederation, which, in November last, were adopted in congress, were soon after taken

into consideration by the several state legislatures. They were ratified by all except New Jersey, Delaware, and Maryland; but several of the states ratifying them made objections to some of the articles, and proposed alterations. New Jersey declined, and gave for her reasons—that no oath was required to be taken by the delegates to the congress; that the power to regulate commerce was reserved to the states; that the congress was not prohibited from keeping up a standing army in time of peace; that the ungranted or crown lands were not declared to be the property of the whole confederacy; and that, in apportioning the troops to be raised, the number of white inhabitants was made the rule, the blacks not being computed. Afterwards, however, the state, anxious that the union should be perfected, sent in her ratification, declaring that she did so “in firm reliance that the justice of the several states would, in due time, remove, as far as possible, the inequality” which she complained of. Subsequently, Delaware ratified the Articles, protesting, at the same time, that the western lands ought to become the property of all the states. Maryland persisted in refusing until New York and Virginia had made a partial relinquishment of their claims to those lands; and then, in 1781, she, by adding her ratification, gave efficient existence to the confederation.

CHAPTER XXIV.

CAMPAIGN OF 1779.

THE campaign of 1779 was distinguished by a change in the theatre of war from the northern to the southern section of the confederacy. That portion had not yet been ravaged; it yielded in greater abun-

dance products essential to the support of an army; it was rendered more easy to conquer by its scattered population, by the multitude of slaves, and by the greater proportion of tories among the inhabitants.

Near the close of the last year, Lieutenant-Colonel Campbell, with two thousand men, sailed from New York to the coast of Georgia, and landed his troops. Marching towards Savannah, the capital, he met, posted on a narrow causeway, a small body of American troops, whom he attacked and dispersed. Near the city, on the main road, with a swamp in front and the river on the left, a larger body was stationed, under the command of General Howe. While Campbell was making arrangements to dislodge these, a negro offered to show him a private path which led by their right. A detachment was sent round by this path; and a simultaneous attack was made upon the American front and rear. One hundred were killed; the rest were made prisoners; and the city then surrendered to the victors.

General Prevost, with a body of royal troops, was stationed in East Florida. When the detachment was sent from New York, orders were sent to him to enter Georgia, and act in concert with Campbell. Traversing an intermediate desert, he, after suffering many hardships, appeared before the fort at Sunbury, the commander of which, having learnt the fate of the capital, surrendered it into his power. Prevost then marched to Savannah, and assumed the command of all the British forces in the state. As many of the American troops as could escape, fled into South Carolina.

Soon after the conquest of Georgia, General Lincoln took the command of the American troops in the southern department. He established his headquarters at Parisburg, on the north side of the Savannah river. The British then placed a detachment of their army at Ebenezer, on the south side, and afterwards another, higher up, at Augusta. By means of these posts, they were able to control the whole state of

Georgia, and keep up a communication with their Indian allies and the Tories in the interior

To cut off this communication, Lincoln sent General Ash, with a body of fifteen hundred men, mostly militia, to take possession of a strong position on Brier Creek, above Ebenezer. He had been there but a few days when General Prevost determined to dislodge them. He sent a small party to occupy their attention in front; at the head of another, he made a circuit of fifty miles, and fell on their rear. Some of the American troops fought bravely, but they were soon overpowered; a part fled; about three hundred were killed or made prisoners, and the enemy obtained possession of the post.

It was the wish of Lincoln to confine the enemy to the sea-coast. To effect this object, he, in April, left Purisburg, and marched up the north side of the Savannah, intending to cross it near Augusta, and then march down towards the capital. Soon after he set out, Prevost crossed the river into South Carolina, and advanced towards Charleston. He hoped by this movement to recall Lincoln; but not succeeding in this, and being assured by the Tories who accompanied him, that Charleston contained many loyalists, who would declare themselves the moment he appeared before it, he determined to proceed thither and attack it. As soon as Lincoln perceived that he was in earnest, he hastened, by rapid marches, to defend it. Prevost appeared before the city, and summoned it to surrender. The citizens, expecting the immediate arrival of Lincoln, opened a negotiation, which they contrived to protract through the day. In the night, the British general, hearing nothing from any loyalists in the city, and learning that the van of the American army had arrived, began a retreat. A part of his troops were conveyed to the islands south of Charleston, and near the coast; the remainder took post at Stono Ferry. These Lincoln attacked; but, being protected by fortifications, and fighting bravely, they repelled him. Soon after,

the enemy, leaving a body of troops on the Island of Port Royal, reoccupied Savannah, and the Americans encamped near Beaufort.

The atrocities committed, in this excursion, by the British and tories, gave to the people of South Carolina a foretaste of the miseries which afterwards afflicted the whole south. Their houses were plundered of plate, furniture, and ornaments; their cattle were killed; their elegant gardens were laid waste; and their slaves, who willingly assisted in plundering their masters, and were eager to disclose where property had been hidden, were carried off in great numbers.

The heat of the season suspended further operations until September. Count d'Estaing, with a fleet carrying six thousand troops, then arrived on the coast. The two armies, in concert, laid siege to Savannah. At the expiration of a month, the count, impatient of delay, insisted that the siege should be abandoned, or that a combined assault upon the enemy's works should immediately be made. General Lincoln determined upon an assault. Great gallantry was displayed by the French and American, but greater by the British troops. They repulsed the assailants, killing and wounding nearly a thousand men, and sustaining on their part but little loss. The Count Pulaski, a celebrated Polish nobleman, in the service of the States, was mortally wounded. The next day the siege was raised, the French returning home, and the Americans to South Carolina.

In the midst of these events, Sir Henry Clinton despatched from New York an expedition against Virginia. The naval force was commanded by Commodore Collier; the troops, consisting of two thousand men, by General Matthews. On the 10th of May, they took possession of Portsmouth, soon after of Norfolk, then of Suffolk, and visited other places of less note. Their progress was marked by cruelty and devastation. Many ships were burnt; and the inhabitants were plundered of large quantities of tobacco,

salted provisions, and other stores. "What sort of war is this?" asked the Virginians of the English. "In this manner," they replied, "we are commanded to treat all who refuse to obey the king." The commanders were desirous of remaining in Virginia; but Clinton, having an enterprise in view at New York, sent them explicit orders to return. He had the credit of executing unwillingly the orders which he received from home, to endeavor to reduce the people to subjection by devastation and plunder.

The Americans had constructed two strong forts nearly opposite each other on the Hudson, one at Verplank's Point, on the eastern, the other at Stony Point, on the western bank. These posts Clinton had determined to attack. As soon as Collier returned, he transported up the river two bodies of troops, one destined against each of these forts. On the approach of the enemy, Stony Point was evacuated. Verplank's Point was vigorously defended; but a cannonade being opened upon it from Stony Point and Collier's squadron, and the enemy having completely invested it by land, it surrendered. Clinton directed that the works at Stony Point should be strengthened, and, leaving a garrison there, collected the main body of his army at Philipsburgh, where he formed an encampment. Neither he nor Washington was willing to hazard a general battle.

Early in the season, Colonel Clarke, of Virginia, who was stationed at Kaskaskia, on the Mississippi, achieved an enterprise conspicuous for boldness of design, and evincing uncommon hardihood in its execution. With only one hundred and thirty men, he penetrated through the wilderness to St. Vincent's, a British post on the Wabash, in the heart of the Indian country. His route lay across deep swamps and morasses. For four or five miles the party waded through water, often as high as the breast. After a march of sixteen days, they reached the town, which, having no intimation of their approach, surrendered without resistance. A short time after, the fort capit-

ulated. This fortunate achievement arrested an expedition which the enemy had projected against the frontiers of Virginia, and detached several tribes of Indians from the British interest.

The atrocities committed at Wyoming, and at several settlements in New York, cried aloud for vengeance. Congress, assembling an army of four thousand men, gave the command of it to General Sullivan, and directed him to conduct it into the country inhabited by the savages, and retort upon them their own system of warfare. Of this army, one division marched from the Mohawk, the other from Wyoming; and both, forming a junction on the Susquehannah, proceeded, on the 22d of August, towards the Seneca Lake.

On an advantageous position, the Indians, in conjunction with two hundred Tories, had erected fortifications to oppose their progress. These were assaulted; the enemy, after a slight resistance, gave way, and disappeared in the woods. As the army advanced into the western part of the state of New York,—that region now so fertile and populous,—the Indians deserted their towns, the appearance of which denoted a higher state of civilization than had ever before been witnessed in the North American wilderness. The houses were commodious; the apple and peach trees numerous, and the crops of corn then growing abundant. All were destroyed; not a vestige of human industry was permitted to exist.

Having accomplished this work of vengeance, severe but deserved, and essential to the future safety of the whites, General Sullivan returned to Easton, in Pennsylvania, where he arrived about the middle of October. His whole loss, by sickness and the enemy, amounted to but forty men.

The ports of Connecticut, on the Sound, sheltered and sent forth a large number of privateers, which captured almost every British vessel that appeared in the neighboring waters, and of course prevented supplies intended for the enemy from reaching New

York. On the 1st of July, General Tryon led an expedition against these ports. He plundered New Haven, and burnt all the shipping in the harbor. He then visited Fairfield, Green Farms, and Norwalk, which he plundered, and then set them on fire. At these three places, one hundred and eighty houses, five churches, many barns and outhouses, and several vessels and mills, were burnt.

While Tryon was absent on this marauding expedition, General Washington formed the project of recovering Stony Point. This fort, by the constant labor of the enemy, had been much strengthened, and was well furnished with artillery. Giving to General Wayne the command of a detachment, consisting chiefly of troops from New England, he intrusted him with the execution of his plan. Wayne divided his force into two columns, intending to make the attack at opposite points. About midnight, the troops, with unloaded muskets, arrived before the lines. They were received with a tremendous discharge of grape-shot and musketry. But both columns mounted the walls, poured into the fort, fought their way with the bayonet, met in the centre, and the victory was complete.

A more gallant exploit has seldom been performed; and the humanity of the victors was equal to their valor. Notwithstanding the devastations in Connecticut, and the butchery of Baylor's troop, the scene of which was near, not an individual suffered after resistance had ceased. Of the enemy, sixty were killed, and upwards of five hundred made prisoners. The loss of the Americans was comparatively small. A gold medal, presented by congress, rewarded the heroism of the victor.

In June, Colonel M'Lean, with six hundred and fifty men from Nova Scotia, took possession of a strong position at Penobscot, and began to erect fortifications. Massachusetts, alarmed at this invasion of her territory, equipped a fleet and raised an army to dislodge them. General Lovell commanded the

troops, mostly militia, and Captain Saltonstall the fleet, which consisted of about twenty vessels, besides transports. The army landed, and, after a sharp contest, drove the enemy from one of their strongest outposts. General Lovell, believing himself too weak to assault their main works, sent home for a reënforcement. While waiting for this, he learnt that Commodore Collier was approaching with a strong force, and made a precipitate retreat. Better would it have been for him had he awaited the enemy and fought them manfully. The ships, endeavoring to escape, were intercepted, driven up the Penobscot, and burnt. The soldiers and sailors, returning to their homes through dismal solitudes and pathless forests, endured extreme distress from exposure, fatigue, and want. The commanders were severely censured for not pursuing their first advantage, and for their hasty and disorderly retreat.

In September, a bloody naval battle was fought, near the coast of Scotland, in which John Paul Jones acquired the reputation of a daring and fortunate commander. He was a Scotchman by birth, but had been appointed, by the American congress, a captain in their navy, and then commanded a squadron fitted out in the ports of France. At half past seven in the evening, his own ship, the *Bon Homme Richard*, of forty guns, engaged the *Serapis*, a British frigate, of forty-four. After the action had continued an hour, the two frigates approached so near to each other, that Jones, seizing the opportunity, lashed them together.

The battle now became furious, and the carnage horrible. The *Serapis* was on fire not less than ten times; and often both frigates were on fire at the same moment, presenting a sublime and dreadful spectacle. At length, the *Alliance*, one of Jones's squadron, came to his assistance; but, the two frigates being fastened together, many of her shot struck the *Bon Homme Richard*. At ten o'clock, the *Serapis* surrendered. Her successful antagonist was so shattered, that the crew were obliged to leave her imme-

diately, and she soon after sunk. Of the crew of the American ship one hundred and fifty, of that of the *Serapis* about the same number, were killed or wounded. The *Pallas*, which was also one of Jones's squadron, engaged at the same time, and captured, the Countess of Scarborough. The squadron, with the prizes, then sailed for Holland, and arrived there in safety.

For a long time, France and the United States had solicited Spain to engage in the war. She hesitated, her feelings urging her to war, and her interests counselling peace. She was extremely desirous of humbling Great Britain; but she dreaded the effect which the independence of the United States would have on her contiguous American provinces. For reasons which can only be conjectured, she offered her mediation to Great Britain, France, and the United States. France accepted it, and strongly urged the United States to do so also. Subsequent developments justify the conclusion that, had all accepted it, she would have recommended that the independence of the United States should be acknowledged; that the Alleghany Mountains should be their western boundary; and that the Newfoundland fisheries should be secured to France. The United States hesitated, and Great Britain finally refused. Spain, then, urged by France, and impelled by her hostile feelings, declared war against Great Britain, enumerating in her manifesto one hundred offences, none of which, nor all together, would have been considered sufficient cause of war, by an enlightened statesman. Had she simply declared that it was just to punish the arrogance of Great Britain, and expedient, for the safety of all nations, to destroy her great maritime superiority, she would have stood justified, perhaps, in the opinion of the world. Immediately a combined French and Spanish fleet, consisting of sixty-six ships of the line, and a cloud of frigates and smaller vessels, appeared in the British seas. It spread a lively alarm through the nation; but sickness on board soon obliged it to return into port.

The alliance with France and the accession of Spain to the war had an unfavorable effect upon the principles and character of the American republicans. Sustained by foreign strength, they ceased to rely upon themselves. No formidable danger aroused and concentrated their exertions. Moreover, that lofty spirit of patriotism, which impels man to form holy resolutions; which purifies the heart of all selfish motives; which, when his country is in peril, hides from the citizen every other object, and shows that lovely and glorious, — had lost much of its vigor in the wearisome contest; and in its place had sprung up the desire of repose, the love of gain, the petty ambition for office, and the selfish wish to cast on others the burdens which all had borne so long. Washington and the leading patriots of the time saw and lamented this; but their appeals failed to arouse the people from their apathy. Recruits came in slowly; the army dwindled, and its commanders felt themselves almost abandoned in the midst of that country which they were striving to make free and independent.

At the close of the season, the northern army, having effected nothing of importance, retired into winter quarters — one division near Morristown, in New Jersey, the other in the vicinity of West Point, an important post in the high lands on the Hudson. Here they endured severe and constant distress from cold, and nakedness, and hunger. Sometimes half the usual allowance, often less, was distributed to the troops; and more than once the provisions were wholly exhausted. Applications for relief were made to the magistrates of the neighborhood, and intimations were given that, so pressing were the wants of the army, provisions would be seized by force, if not furnished voluntarily. The magistrates promptly attended to the call. They seized provisions wherever they found a surplus beyond the necessities of the owner, and thus saved the army from starvation.

Derangement in the finances produced these sufferings. Large sums had been annually raised and

expended; and the ability of the people to pay taxes had progressively decreased. To supply deficiencies, paper money, to the amount of about one hundred and fifty millions of dollars, had been issued. This gradually depreciated, and, at the close of 1779, thirty dollars in paper were of no more value than one in specie. To purchase provisions with this money was at first difficult, and then impossible; and congress now found their funds and their credit exhausted.

A change of system was necessary. For the supply of the army, each state was directed to furnish a certain quantity of provisions and forage. Loans were solicited from the people, and nearly a million of dollars was raised by bills drawn upon the American agents in Europe, in anticipation of loans which they had been authorized to procure. These expedients afforded but temporary and partial relief.

No class of persons suffered more from the depreciation of paper money than the army, and especially the officers. The pay, even of those of the highest grade, was rendered insufficient to provide them with necessary clothing. Discontent began to pervade the whole army. It required all the enthusiastic patriotism which distinguishes the soldier of principle; all that ardent attachment to freedom which brought them into the field; all the influence of the commander-in-chief, whom they almost adored, to retain in the service men who felt themselves cruelly neglected by the country whose battles they fought.

CHAPTER XXV

CAMPAIGN OF 1780.

THE French fleet having returned home after the termination of the siege of Savannah, the Southern States were left almost defenceless. The Continental

troops under the command of General Lincoln amounted to no more than one thousand men fit for duty. Sir Henry Clinton, aware of the true state of that portion of the confederacy, determined to attempt the reduction of Charleston, believing that in its fate would be involved that of the whole of South Carolina. In December, 1779, taking with him about seven thousand men, he sailed from New York for Savannah. One of his transports was captured; and from the prisoners the first information was obtained of his design. In February, leaving Savannah, he landed on St. John's Island; and the fleet was stationed before the harbor of Charleston to blockade it.

Immediate efforts were made to place the city in a posture of defence. The assembly, which was then sitting, delegated to Governor Rutledge, a patriot of splendid talents, and to his council, "the power to do every thing necessary for the public good, except taking away the life of a citizen," and adjourned. Power almost unlimited being thus placed in few hands, vigorous efforts were made to call into action the strength of the state, for the protection of its capital. Six hundred slaves were set to work on the fortifications, and the militia of the country were summoned to repair to the standard of Lincoln. The hope was indulged that, by the aid of these, and of promised reinforcements from the north, the city would be able to withstand the forces of Clinton. Yet, fearing the small-pox, then known to prevail in the city, two hundred only of the militia of the state obeyed the summons of her governor. When the troops of all kinds had arrived, the forces under Lincoln consisted only of two thousand regulars, twelve hundred militia, mostly from North Carolina, and the citizens.

Clinton made gradual approaches towards the city, and, on the 1st of April, began the siege by erecting works at the distance of eleven hundred yards. On the 9th, the fleet, driven by a strong wind, passed the forts on Sullivan's Island, without stopping to return

their fire, and gained the command of the harbor. The surrender of the place was then demanded in form of General Lincoln; but he replied that it was his duty and inclination to defend it to the last extremity. The batteries were then opened, and other measures adopted to gain possession of the place.

The southern country being open and level, Clinton had made great exertions to organize a corps of cavalry, and had succeeded. He gave the command of it to Lieutenant-Colonel Tarleton, who afterwards acted a conspicuous part in the wars of the south. At Monk's Corner, about thirty miles above Charleston, a body of American cavalry, commanded by General Huger, was stationed, to keep up a communication with the country, and to check the foraging parties of the enemy. Clinton despatched Colonel Webster, with fifteen hundred men, of whom part were Tarleton's cavalry, to surprise them. A negro conducted them, by a secret path, to the American videttes stationed about a mile from the main body. The alarm was then given; but, though Huger's troop kept their horses saddled, Tarleton rushed forward with such impetuosity, that he fell upon them before they could mount. Thirty were killed or taken, and the residue dispersed. By this victory, the enemy obtained the control of most of the interior of the state.

A reënforcement of three thousand men was received, by the enemy, from New York, and works were erected nearer the city. A council of war was held to determine what course should be pursued. General Lincoln was in favor of evacuating the city; but the principal inhabitants insisted, as they had before done, that he should remain to defend them. The council advised that an offer should be made to capitulate, on condition that the garrison should still be permitted to bear arms, and the inhabitants be secured in their persons and property. These terms were rejected, and hostilities continued.

Fort Moultrie, on Sullivan's Island, and several

posts in the suburbs, fell into the power of the enemy. They completely invested the city, and so closely that some of their works were within twenty yards of the American lines. They began to make preparations for an assault, when the citizens, nothing having been heard of the expected succors, requested the general to propose a capitulation on the terms which had been offered by Clinton. The proposition was made and accepted; and, on the 12th of May, the forty-second day of the siege, the city was surrendered. All who had borne arms were to be prisoners of war; the militia were permitted to retire to their homes on their parole; and all public property was delivered to the victors.

This was the only attempt made during the war to defend a town; and the result proves the wisdom of the contrary course pursued by Washington. As the unfortunate are always blamed, severe censure was cast upon Lincoln for permitting his army to be enclosed in the city. But he had sufficient reasons to justify his conduct. He supposed that congress intended the city should be defended. That body and the states of Virginia and North Carolina had promised to send him between nine and ten thousand men; and had they fulfilled their promises, the city would doubtless have been saved.

The capital having surrendered, measures were adopted to overawe the inhabitants of the country, and induce them to return to their allegiance to the king. Garrisons were placed in different parts of the state, and two thousand men were despatched towards North Carolina, to repel several parties of militia, who were hastening to the relief of Charleston. Colonel Tarleton, making a rapid march of one hundred and five miles in fifty-four hours, met, at the Waxhaws, and attacked one of these parties, commanded by Colonel Buford. His force, being superior, was soon victorious. The vanquished, ceasing to resist, implored for quarter. Their cries were disregarded. Upwards of two hundred and fifty were killed, or too

badly wounded to be removed from the field. This barbarous massacre spread dismay throughout the country, and gave a sanguinary character to future conflicts.

To avoid being treated as enemies, the greater part of the inhabitants either gave their parole as prisoners, or submitted to become subjects of the king. Sir Henry Clinton, afterwards, by proclamation, discharged the former from their parole, and called upon all to imbody as militia in the service of Great Britain. Indignant at this dishonorable conduct, which left them only the alternative of fighting for or against their country, multitudes, seizing their arms, resolved on a vindictive war with their invaders.

A party, who had taken refuge in North Carolina, chose Colonel Sumpter their leader. At the head of these, he returned to his own state, attacked and defeated several scattered detachments from the British army. In one engagement, so decisive was his victory, that nine only, out of nearly three hundred, escaped. By a succession of gallant enterprises, he reanimated the friends of freedom; and a spirit of determined hostility to Great Britain was again manifested in every part of the state.

This spirit was cherished by the approach, from the north, of an army which had been despatched to defend and protect the Carolinas. When it began its march from New Jersey, it consisted of fourteen hundred men, commanded by the baron de Kalb. Though an able and active officer, his progress was slow. The congress had no money to purchase supplies, and the credit of the government was entirely exhausted. The troops obtained their support, on their way, by dispersing, and gathering it wherever it could be found. From Petersburg, in Virginia, they proceeded to the upper part of North Carolina. Passing through Hillsborough, they arrived at Deep Creek, in South Carolina, where, on the 25th of July, they were joined by General Gates, whom congress had appointed to the chief command in the southern

department. It was supposed that the conqueror of Burgoyne would attract to his standard the militia of the country, and, by inspiring confidence, increase the strength of the army. He directed his march towards Camden, where about two thousand British regulars were stationed, under the command of Lord Rawdon. The sufferings of the American troops now became even greater than they had been. Lean cattle found straying in the woods, green corn, and peaches, were their principal food. By such diet rendered sickly, and wearied by incessant toil, they arrived at Clermont, a few miles from Camden, on the 14th of August. The army had received additions on its march, and now amounted to about four thousand men, a large portion of whom were militia.

In the mean time, Sir Henry Clinton had returned to New York, leaving Lord Cornwallis to command in his stead. On hearing of the approach of Gates, he hastened to Camden, where he arrived on the same 14th of August. How could he relieve his small force from the danger which threatened it? To retreat would be giving up the state. To await an attack at Camden, an ill-chosen position, he considered perilous and unwise. Rejecting these two courses, he boldly resolved to attack Gates in his camp at Clermont.

Gates determined to take a strong position nearer to Camden, and for this purpose left his camp in the night of the 15th. At the same hour, Cornwallis left Camden to surprise Gates. At half past two, the next morning, the advanced parties, to the surprise of both, met and engaged. In several skirmishes which took place, the British obtained the advantage. This depressed the spirits of the militia, who looked forward to the morning with gloomy forebodings.

When the morning dawned, the enemy advanced to the attack. At the first onset, the Virginia militia fled from the field, and their example was followed by others. The Continentals, though left alone to contend with superior numbers, maintained the conflict with great firmness. For a short time, they had

the advantage of their opponents; but their commander, De Kalb, was killed: they then gave way, and the flight became general.

The fugitives were pursued by Tarleton's legion with relentless fury. When all were killed, captured, or dispersed, the pursuers, with speed unchecked, took the route towards Sumpter's encampment. This active partisan, who had lately been victorious in a skirmish, retreated precipitately, on hearing of the defeat of Gates. At the Catawba Ford, supposing he was beyond danger, he halted, that his troops, who were fatigued, might repose. His sentinels slept at their posts, and the legion rode into his camp before preparations could be made for defence. Between three and four hundred were killed or wounded; the remainder were dispersed in the woods; three hundred prisoners were released; all the baggage and stores fell into the power of the victors.

Again supposing the state to be subdued, Cornwallis adopted measures of extreme severity to suppress every latent inclination to revolt. He directed that all who, having once submitted, had lately given aid to the armies of congress, should be deprived of their property and imprisoned; and that all, who had once borne arms with the British, and afterwards joined the Americans, should suffer death. In consequence of these orders, several were executed, and many were reduced to poverty and wretchedness.

In these times of confusion and distress, the mischievous effects of slavery in facilitating the conquest of the country became apparent. As the slaves had no interest at stake, the subjugation of the States was a matter of no consequence to them. Instead of aiding in their defence, they, by a variety of means, threw the weight of their little influence into the opposite scale.

There were yet some citizens, who, in all fortunes, adhered with firmness to the cause of independence. Of these, in one part of the state, General Sumpter was the leader; in another, General Marion. The

cavalry of the latter were so destitute of the weapons of war, that they were obliged to cut their swords from the saws of the saw-mills. He was so successful in concealing himself in woods and marshes, that the enemy were never able to attack or discover him. From these dark retreats he often sallied forth, and fell unexpectedly upon parties of the enemy, when marching through the country, or posted in garrisons to overawe the inhabitants. In one of these sallies, he released one hundred and fifty Continentals captured at Camden. His repeated and successful excursions preserved alive the spirit of resistance, and his high fame as a partisan was never tarnished by any violation of the laws of war or humanity.

Of those who submitted through fear, or from attachment to the royal cause, Major Ferguson, a British officer of distinguished merit, was appointed commander. He was despatched, by Cornwallis, into the western part of North Carolina, where, other Tories joining him, his force was augmented to fourteen hundred men. An enterprise against this party was concerted by the commanders of the militia, in the adjacent parts of the two Carolinas and Virginia. About the 1st of October, they, by great exertions, assembled three thousand men at Gilbert Town. From these, fifteen hundred choice riflemen were selected; who, mounted on the best horses, hastened to the attack of Ferguson.

He awaited them on the top of King's Mountain. The militia, in three divisions, led by Colonels Cleveland, Shelby, and Campbell, ascended it in different directions. These divisions, successively arriving, were each repulsed; but each, when the enemy, by an attack from a different quarter, were recalled from pursuit, returned again to the charge. In this manner the action was continued for an hour with great spirit. Ferguson was then killed, and with him expired the courage of his party. Eight hundred threw down their arms, and became prisoners. One hundred and fifty were killed. Very few of the assailants fell. Ten

of the most active among the tories were selected, by the exasperated whigs, and immediately hanged on the spot.

Cornwallis, confident of his ability to subjugate the state, had followed Ferguson into North Carolina. Receiving notice of his entire defeat, he returned and took post at Winnsborough. As he retired, Gates, who had assembled an army of fourteen hundred men, advanced to Charlotte, where he determined to pass the winter. He was soon after recalled by congress, and, on the recommendation of Washington, General Greene was withdrawn from the northern army to take command of the department of the south.

By the northern army, which, as has been stated, was posted at West Point and Morristown, little more was attempted, during the year, than to watch the motions of the enemy in New York, and protect the inhabitants from their incursions. The troops, unfed, unpaid, and unemployed, discovered, at various times, a disposition to mutiny. On these occasions, the British commander, by means of emissaries sent among them, invited them to repair to the city, where he promised them comfort and abundance. His invitations were disregarded. Relief from distress was all they sought; and when that was obtained, they cheerfully returned to their duty.

In July, a French squadron under Admiral Ternay, bringing six thousand troops, commanded by Count Rochambeau, arrived at Rhode Island, which had previously been evacuated by the enemy; they were immediately blockaded in the harbor they had entered, by a British fleet. Reënforced by these troops, Washington determined to attack New York; the army marched to stations nearer the city, and rejoined in the hope of being able to accomplish something for their country; but the arrival from England of another fleet, under Admiral Rodney, disconcerted the plan which had been formed.

Defeat at the south and disappointment at the north

overshadowed the land with gloom; but intelligence that treason had appeared in the American camp occasioned amazement and alarm. The traitor was Arnold, whom bravery in battle and fortitude in suffering had placed high in the affections of the people.

Upon the evacuation of Philadelphia, by the enemy, in 1778, he was appointed commander of that station. Here, indulging in all the pleasures of an expensive equipage and sumptuous table, he contracted debts which he was unable to discharge. To extricate himself from embarrassment, he made large claims against the government, a portion of which was rejected. He was accused of extortion and of misuse of the public money; and for these offences was tried by a court-martial, and sentenced to be reprimanded by the commander-in-chief.

From this moment, he determined to avenge his wounded pride and supply his wants by betraying his country. In a letter to a British officer, he signified his change of principle, and his wish to restore himself to the favor of his prince, by some signal proof of his repentance; and about this time, for a purpose which afterwards too plainly appeared, he solicited and obtained the command of West Point, the most important post in the possession of the American armies.

He immediately opened a correspondence with Sir Henry Clinton, and proposed to deliver into his power the post that he commanded. To agree upon the mode of surrender, Major Andre, a young man of splendid talents, and adjutant-general of the British army, ascended the river from New York, and, in the night, at a place near the American lines, had an interview with Arnold. Before he was prepared to return, the sloop-of-war which brought him was compelled to move down the river.

In this emergency, Andre, disguised as a traveller, assuming the name of Anderson, and furnished by Arnold with a pass, set out to return by land to New York. He passed all the guards and posts without

awakening suspicion; but was stopped, when near the end of his journey, by three of the New York militia, whose names were Paulding, Williams, and Vanwart. Supposing them to be soldiers of his own army, instead of producing his pass, he declared himself a British officer, and desired he might not be detained.

On discovering his mistake, he offered them a purse of gold and a valuable watch, and promised more ample rewards from his government, if they would permit him to escape. Rejecting, with patriotism worthy of all praise, these tempting offers, they conducted him to Colonel Jameson, who was stationed near the American lines. In his boots were found a particular statement of the strength of the garrison, and a description of the works at West Point. Anxious for the safety of Arnold, he desired the colonel to inform him that Anderson was taken. An express was unwarily despatched with the intelligence. Arnold, comprehending his danger, made a precipitate flight to New York.

Andre, disdaining longer concealment, then avowed himself to be the adjutant-general of the British army. Suspicion being now excited, Colonel Jameson transmitted to the commander-in-chief, who was not far distant, information of all the events which had occurred. Washington, hastening to West Point, made arrangements for repelling any attack that might be made. Measures of precaution being taken, the fate of the prisoner was next to be decided.

His case was referred to a board of officers. Appearing before them, he confessed, with ingenious frankness, every circumstance relating to himself, but would disclose nothing which might involve others in his misfortune. He displayed, in all his conduct while a prisoner, great nobleness of mind; but the board, constrained by duty, reported that he must be considered as a spy, and, agreeably to the law of nations, ought to suffer death.

Sir Henry Clinton, by whom he was highly es-

teemed, made every exertion in his power to avert his fate. He entreated, remonstrated, and threatened. To have yielded would have betrayed timidity and weakness, and encouraged future treason. Andre suffered an ignominious death, with a degree of composure and fortitude which proved how great and illustrious he might have been, had he not stooped, in an evil hour, to the commission of an ignominious action.

Arnold received, as the reward of his treachery, the sum of ten thousand pounds, and the rank of brigadier-general in the British army. But he was detested by his new associates; and his name will be forever synonymous with infamy and baseness. In contrast with his, how bright shines the fame of the three captors of Andre! They were not then, nor can they ever be, forgotten by a country which owes so much to their fidelity. Each received the thanks of congress, a silver medal, and a pension for life, which has been doubled at a subsequent season of greater national prosperity.

At the close of the year 1780, the troops of the northern army retired to the winter quarters which they had last occupied. Again they endured distress at which patriotism feels indignant and humanity weeps. The harvest had been abundant. Plenty reigned in the land, but want in the camp of its defenders. Selfishness had succeeded patriotism, lassitude enthusiasm, in the breasts of the people, and congress exerted its powers with too little vigor to draw forth the resources of the country.

The soldiers of the Pennsylvania line were stationed at Morristown, in New Jersey. They complained that, in addition to sustaining sufferings common to all, they were retained in service contrary to the terms of their enlistments. In the night of the 1st of January, thirteen hundred, on a concerted signal, paraded under arms, and declared their intention of marching to Philadelphia, and demanding of congress a redress of their grievances.

The officers strove to compel them to relinquish their purpose. In the attempt, one was killed, and several were wounded. General Wayne presented his pistols, as if intending to fire. They held their bayonets to his breast. "We love and respect you," said they, "but if you fire, you are a dead man. We are not going to the enemy. On the contrary, if they were now to come out, you should see us fight under your orders with as much alacrity as ever. But we will be amused no longer; we are determined to obtain what is our just due."

They elected temporary officers, and moved off in a body towards Princeton. General Wayne, to prevent them from plundering the inhabitants, forwarded provisions for their use. The next day, he followed, and requested them to appoint a man from each regiment, to state to him their complaints. The men were appointed, a conference held, but he refused to comply with their demands.

They proceeded in good order to Princeton. Three emissaries from Sir Henry Clinton, meeting them here, made them liberal offers to entice them from the service of congress. The offers were instantly rejected, and the emissaries seized and confined in strict custody. Here they were also met by a committee of congress, and a deputation from the state of Pennsylvania. The latter, granting a part of their demands, persuaded them to return to their duty. The agents of Clinton were then given up, and immediately executed as spies.

This mutiny, and another in the Jersey line, which was instantly suppressed, aroused the attention of the States to the miserable condition of their troops. The amount of three months' pay was raised and forwarded to them in specie. They received it with joy, as it afforded evidence that their country was not unmindful of their sufferings.

CHAPTER XXVI.

CAMPAIGN OF 1781, AND TERMINATION
OF THE WAR.

It has not yet been mentioned that, as early as 1778, William Lee, an envoy from the United States, and John de Neufville, acting in the name of Van Berkel, the principal magistrate of the city of Amsterdam, meeting at Aix-la-Chapelle, agreed upon the plan of a treaty between the United States and Holland. This could have no validity until it had received the assent of all the Dutch provinces; but that, it was supposed, could easily be obtained, for the influence of that city was great, and her merchants were not only anxious to open and enjoy a regular commerce with the American states, but cherished an inveterate hostility against the arrogant commercial rival of their nation.

In 1780, the congress appointed Henry Laurens minister to Holland, and empowered him to conclude a commercial treaty with that republic. He left the country in the fall of the year; the ship in which he sailed was captured; he threw his papers overboard, but they were rescued from the water, before they sunk, by the dexterity of a British sailor. Among the papers was the plan of a treaty agreed on at Aix-la-Chapelle. The British minister, resident in Holland, in pursuance of instructions, communicated the papers to the Dutch government, demanded a disavowal of the treaty, and the exemplary punishment of Van Berkel. He obtained no answer until after a second demand, and was then merely assured, by the states-general, that they would take the matter into their serious consideration.

This answer not being satisfactory, the British government recalled their minister; and, being well aware that a majority of the Dutch were friendly to America

as well as hostile to them, and apprehensive that they were only desirous of deferring hostilities until their rich merchant vessels could reach home and be safe from capture, issued a declaration of war against Holland. To do this they were instigated by pride, as well as by the hope of reaping a rich harvest of prizes, and of gaining possession of defenceless Dutch colonies. They were successful at first; but their new enemy, when aroused, returned blow for blow.

The commerce of the nations not engaged in the war suffered much from the belligerent pretensions of Great Britain. She claimed a right to search neutral vessels, wherever they might be, on the ocean, for contraband articles, and for enemy's property, and often exercised it in a manner which excited the indignation of those who suffered. To resist her pretensions and to protect their commerce, the northern European powers, at the head of which was the empress of Russia, formed an association, styled the Armed Neutrality. They insisted that neutral ships should be allowed a free navigation, even from one port to another of nations at war; that the goods of an enemy should not be taken from the ships of a neutral; and that no ports should be considered blockaded unless closely invested by ships-of-war. The congress declared its approbation of the principles of this association, and, in December, 1780, appointed Francis Dana minister to Russia, with power to accede to a league for protecting the freedom of commerce and the rights of nations.

In America, it was determined to open the campaign at the north by besieging New York. Requisitions for men and stores were made upon the Northern States, and, in June, the French and American troops, marching from their respective positions, encamped together on ground contiguous to the city. But reinforcements and supplies arrived slowly, and the want of them compelled the troops in the field to remain inactive.

In the southern department, far different was the

fortune of the opposing armies. That of which General Greene took the command, consisted of but two thousand men. Nearly one half of these he despatched, under General Morgan, into the western section of South Carolina, where a British party, aided by the tories, were plundering and murdering the whigs without mercy and without restraint.

Against the American detachment, Cornwallis despatched Tarleton, with a force considerably superior, and a large proportion of it cavalry. Morgan began to retreat, but, disdaining to fly from an enemy, and uncertain whether he could escape an officer so distinguished as his pursuer for the celerity of his movements, he, on the 17th of January, halted at the Cowpens, and determined to hazard a battle, before his troops became dispirited and fatigued.

Soon after he had placed his men, the British van appeared in sight. Confident of an easy victory, Tarleton rushed to the charge with his usual impetuosity. The militia posted in front yielded, as directed by Morgan, to the shock; and the infantry composing the second line, retreated a few yards. In the ardor of pursuit, the enemy were thrown into disorder: the infantry, facing about, poured upon them a fire as deadly as it was unexpected. Their disorder was increased, and a charge with the bayonet completed their overthrow. One hundred of the enemy were killed, and five hundred made prisoners.

Seldom has a victory, achieved by so small a number, been so important in its consequences. It deprived Cornwallis of one fifth of his force, and disconcerted his plans for the reduction of North Carolina. He sought, however, to repair, by active exertions, the loss which he had suffered. Having learnt that Morgan, the instant after his victory, had marched with his prisoners towards Virginia, he determined, if possible, to intercept him, and compel him to restore his trophies.

Now commenced a military race which has hardly

its parallel in history. Each army strove to arrive first at the Fords of the Catawba, from which both were equally distant. The American troops endured almost incredible hardships. They were sometimes without meat, often without flour, and always without spiritous liquors. Many, marching over frozen ground without shoes, marked with blood every step of their progress.

On the twelfth day after the battle, Morgan reached the fords and crossed the Catawba. Two hours afterwards, Cornwallis arrived, and, it being then dark, encamped on the bank. In the night, a heavy fall of rain made the river impassable. This gave Morgan an opportunity to remove the prisoners beyond the reach of his pursuer. And here he was joined by General Greene, who, leaving the main body of his army, with orders to march towards Virginia, had ridden, with but two or three attendants, one hundred and fifty miles for that purpose.

At the end of three days, Cornwallis found means to pass the river. The retreat and pursuit again commenced. On the second night, the Americans reached a ford on the Yadkin. Before all had crossed, the British appeared, and a part of the baggage was left in their power. Again the two armies lay encamped on the opposite banks, and, before morning, this river also was made impassable by the rain. This second preservation from imminent danger persuaded the Americans that their cause was favored of Heaven.

The next day, Greene proceeded to Guilford courthouse, where he was joined by the other division of his army. Cornwallis, marching up the Yadkin, crossed at the shallow fords near its source. Both armies now started for the River Dan, on the borders of Virginia, and distant more than one hundred miles. The knowledge that there the course must terminate, gave fresh vigor to the troops, and a new impulse to their speed. On the fifth day, the American army, having, in the last twenty-four hours, marched forty

miles, crossed the river in boats which had been collected for the purpose; and scarcely were they over when the British appeared on the opposite shore.

Chagrined that his adversary had thus eluded his grasp, Cornwallis wheeled about and marched sullenly to Hillsborough. Here many loyalists resorted to his standard. Six hundred Virginia militia having, in the mean time, joined the American army, Greene determined to recross the Dan, and, by his presence in North Carolina, support the courage of those who had embraced the cause of independence.

Cornwallis having detached Tarleton, with his legion, to the country on the branches of the Haw River, in order to countenance the rising of the loyalists in that neighborhood, a body of cavalry under Lieutenant-Colonel Lee, and of militia under General Pickens, were directed to march thither and attack him. Lee, who led the van, overtook, in a long lane, a band of tories, on their way to the enemy. Mistaking him for Tarleton, they expressed a lively joy at the meeting, and declared their zealous attachment to the royal cause.

Hoping to surprise Tarleton, who was but a mile in advance, Lee forbore to correct their error; but while he was endeavoring to pass them, the militia came up and engaged their rear. Relinquishing his first project, he ordered his cavalry to fall upon the tories, who were slaughtered without mercy, while protesting they were "the very best friends of the king." Between two and three hundred were killed. Tarleton, alarmed by the firing, retreated instantly to Hillsborough. On his way, he cut down a small party of royalists, mistaking them for whig militia.

Leaving Hillsborough, Cornwallis next encamped near Guilford court-house. Greene, having been still further strengthened by several bodies of militia, pursued and offered him battle. On the 15th of March, an engagement was fought. At the first fire, the North Carolina militia, who were in the front line, fled. The second line was also routed. The Conti-

mentals, who composed the third, fought with their usual bravery, and for an hour and a half maintained the conflict with great firmness. They at length gave way, but retreated in good order, the slaughter they had made in the enemy's ranks preventing pursuit. Both sides sustained nearly an equal loss.

This victory, won by a far inferior force, was more glorious than advantageous to the British army. Greene, expecting and desiring to be attacked at his place of retreat, made preparations for a second engagement. Cornwallis, far from courting a battle, deemed it prudent to retire to Wilmington, near the sea. He was pursued for a few days; but so excessive had been the sufferings of the Americans, from hunger and fatigue, that many fainted on the march; and at Ramsay's Mills the army halted to seek refreshment and repose.

After remaining three weeks at Wilmington, Cornwallis proceeded to Petersburg, in Virginia. From Ramsay's Mills, Greene marched towards Camden, where were posted nine hundred men, under the command of Lord Rawdon. He took a position on Hobkirk's Hill, about a mile from the British intrenchments. At this position, the Americans were attacked on the 25th of April. In the beginning of the action, their bravery gained advantages which, in its progress, were lost by an incident such as often decides the fate of battles. A captain being killed, his company got into confusion, fell back, and drew with it the adjoining company. The colonel ordered the rest of the regiment to make a retrograde movement, for the purpose of taking a stronger position in the rear, and in a line with those companies. This was mistaken for an order to retreat, and the regiment gave way. The enemy pressed forward with increased ardor, and all endeavors to rally the regiment, which was the bravest in the army, were ineffectual. Another regiment gave way, and then another, when Greene, resolving to preserve his troops for a more auspicious occasion, retired a few miles from the field. The

enemy pursued ; but Colonel Washington, facing about, made a vigorous charge upon their van, and drove them back. The loss sustained on each side was nearly equal.

In April and May, several British posts in South Carolina fell into the power of the brave and active partisans, who, with small bodies of troops, were ever present where oppression was to be resisted or glory won. Marion and Lee invested and took Fort Watson. Orangeburg and Fort Motte surrendered to Sumpter. Lee captured Fort Granby, and Marion drove from Georgetown the troops stationed to defend it. None of these posts had numerous garrisons, the prisoners being less, in the whole, than eight hundred ; but the advantages they had secured to the enemy rendered their capture important to the American cause.

The loss of these posts exposed those nearer Charleston to danger ; and, should the latter be lost, the troops in that city would be unable to receive supplies from the country. Lord Rawdon, therefore, near the end of May, retreated from Camden, and took post at Monk's Corner, leaving garrisons only at Ninety-Six and Augusta. The latter post was besieged by Lee, and soon capitulated. Ninety-Six, which was much stronger, was invested by the main army. The siege had continued three weeks, and eventual success appeared certain, when intelligence arrived that Lord Rawdon, having received a reënforcement from Ireland, was approaching, with two thousand men, to the relief of the place. All hope was now lost of reducing it by the slow operation of a siege. On the 18th of June, the Americans, with great gallantry, made an assault upon the works. They were received with no less gallantry by the garrison, and repulsed. Greene then retired towards North Carolina, and three days afterwards Lord Rawdon arrived at Ninety-Six.

During this year, the inhabitants of the Carolinas endured calamity and distress from which humanity

revolts with horror. The country was ravaged and plundered by both armies. The people, in sentiment, were about equally divided. Village was hostile to village, and neighbor to neighbor; and their hostility had been imbibed by accusation and retort, by attack and reprisal, until pillage, burning, and murder, became familiar to all. Whenever a republican or royalist fell into the power of an adversary, he was instantly sacrificed in revenge of a friend, or to gratify political hatred. It is asserted that, in this manner, thousands were put to death. Each party aimed at the extirpation of the other, and the whole country presented an unvaried scene of blood and slaughter. But censure ought not to rest equally upon the two parties. In the commencement of the contest, the British, to terrify the people into submission, set an example, which the tories were quick, but the whigs slow, to follow; and in its progress the American generals, and they alone, seized every occasion to discountenance such vindictive and barbarous conduct.

Lord Rawdon having returned to England, the command of the British troops, in South Carolina, devolved upon Lieutenant-Colonel Stewart. In the beginning of September, he took post at Eutaw. Greene marched against him from the High Hills of Santee. Their forces were equal, amounting on each side to two thousand men. On the 8th, a battle was fought, more bloody, perhaps, than any which had occurred during the war. The attack was made by the Americans; the British, resolute and brave, made an obstinate resistance, but were at length driven in disorder from the field.

A small number, on their retreat, took possession of a large brick house, and others of an adjoining picketed garden. From these strong positions a deadly fire was poured upon the Americans, who persisted, for a long time, in a rash attempt to take them by storm. This check enabled the British commander to rally his broken battalions, and bring them again

into action. Greene, despairing of further success, withdrew his troops, carrying with him his wounded and prisoners.

The loss on both sides was uncommonly great, in proportion to the numbers engaged. On the American side, the number of killed and wounded amounted to five hundred and fifty; on that of the British, as stated by themselves, to almost seven hundred. This sanguinary battle was followed by the retreat of the British army towards Charleston. The Americans pursued, and, by establishing a chain of posts at a short distance from that city, protected the state from their incursions.

Cornwallis, who left North Carolina in April, arrived at Petersburg, in Virginia, on the 20th of May. He there formed a junction with a British detachment, which, commanded at first by Arnold, and afterwards by Phillips, had previously gained possession of Richmond and Portsmouth. With the force now at his command, he flattered himself that he should be able to add this state also to the list of his conquests.

The American troops stationed in Virginia for its defence, were indeed entirely insufficient to oppose any effectual resistance. Under their gallant leader, the marquis de la Fayette, they accomplished even more than was expected; but were unable to prevent the enemy from marching through the country, and destroying much public and private property.

From these excursions, Cornwallis was recalled to the sea-coast by his commander-in-chief, who, having intercepted a letter from Washington to congress, became acquainted with the danger which threatened New York. He was directed to take a position near the ocean, where his army and the fleet might afford mutual protection, until the event of the operations at the north should be known. He selected Yorktown and Gloucester Point, situated on opposite sides of York River, which empties into Chesapeake Bay. He had an army of more than ten thousand men, and

applied all his means, with unwearied industry and zeal, to fortify these commanding positions.

In the mean time, but little progress had been made in the preparations to besiege New York. Of the six thousand men, whom the Northern States were required to furnish for that purpose, a few hundred only, at the beginning of August, had joined the army. On the other hand, the enemy in the city had been strengthened by the arrival of three thousand Germans. In this posture of affairs, the idea of an expedition against Cornwallis occurred to the commander-in-chief. While deliberating on the enterprise, he received information that a French fleet, under the count de Grasse, with three thousand troops on board, was on the way to America, and destined to the Chesapeake.

He hesitated no longer, but determined to conduct the expedition in person. The show of an intention to attack New York was nevertheless preserved. After the troops left their respective positions, and crossed the Hudson, their march was so directed as to lead Sir Henry Clinton to believe that it was the object of Washington to gain possession of Staten Island, in order to facilitate his designs against the city. The despatches he had intercepted assisted to deceive him; and not until the army had crossed the Delaware, and was thus beyond the reach of pursuit, did he suspect the real object of his adversary.

He then determined to profit by his absence, or recall him, by some daring enterprise at the north. Giving to the traitor Arnold, who had just returned from Virginia, the command of a strong detachment, he sent him against New London, a flourishing city situated upon the River Thames, in his native state. Nearly opposite, on a hill in Groton, stood Fort Griswold, which was then garrisoned by militia, hastily summoned from their labors in the field.

Against this fort Arnold despatched a part of his troops. It was assaulted on three sides at the same

moment. The garrison, fighting in view of their property and their homes, made a brave and obstinate resistance. By their steady and well-directed fire, many of the assailants were killed. Pressing forward with persevering ardor, the enemy entered the fort through the embrasures. Immediately all resistance ceased. Irritated by gallantry which should have caused admiration, a British officer inquired who commanded the fort. "I did," said Colonel Ledyard, "but you do now," and presented him his sword. He seized it, and with savage cruelty plunged it into his bosom. This was the signal for an indiscriminate massacre. Of one hundred and sixty men composing the garrison, all but forty were killed or wounded, and most of them after resistance had ceased. Seldom has the glory of victory been tarnished by such detestable barbarity. The enemy then entered New London, which was set on fire and consumed. The property destroyed was of immense value. Perceiving no other object within the reach of his force, Arnold led back his troops to New York.

The march of Washington was not arrested by this barbarous inroad. He pressed forward with the utmost speed, the great object in view imparting vigor to his troops. At Chester, he received the cheering intelligence, that admiral de Grasse had entered the Chesapeake with a force sufficiently strong to prevent the escape of the enemy by water. On the 25th of September, the last division of the allied forces arrived at the place appointed for their meeting. The whole consisted of sixteen thousand men, and was furnished with a large and powerful train of battering artillery.

A body of troops under general de Choisé was stationed to watch the small garrison at Gloucester Point, on the north bank of the river; and on the 28th the several divisions destined to besiege the main garrison at Yorktown, reached the positions assigned them. On the night of the 6th of October, advancing to within six hundred yards of the enemy's

lines, they began their first parallel, and labored with such silence and diligence, that they were not discovered until morning, when the works they had raised were sufficient to protect them.

Cornwallis might probably have harassed the Americans more than he did, and hindered their progress in enclosing him; but Sir Henry Clinton had assured him that a fleet, carrying troops for his relief, would leave New York on the 5th. Confiding in ultimate success, and believing, perhaps, that it would be more signal and complete if the besiegers were allowed to approach without much show of resistance, he had withdrawn his troops from the remote outposts, and stationed them within the main line of fortifications. Clinton was censured for making a promise which, as the event showed, he could not fulfil. Cornwallis was more severely censured for relying upon it; for, even if the fleet had set sail, it might never have reached him.

On the 9th, several batteries being completed, a heavy cannonade was begun. Many of the enemy's guns were dismounted, and portions of their fortifications laid level with the ground. On the night of the 11th, the besiegers commenced their second parallel, three hundred yards in advance of the first. This approach was made so much sooner than was expected, that the men were not discovered at their labor, until they had rendered themselves secure from all molestation in front. The fire from the new batteries was still more furious and destructive.

From two British redoubts, in advance of their main works, and flanking those of the besiegers, the men in the trenches were so severely annoyed that Washington resolved to storm them. The enterprise against one was committed to an American, that against the other to a French detachment. Colonel Hamilton, who led the van of the former, made such an impetuous attack, that possession was soon obtained, with little slaughter. Retaliation for the carnage at Fort Griswold might have been justified. But "the

soldiers," said Colonel Hamilton, "incapable of imitating examples of barbarity, and forgetting recent provocation, spared every man that ceased to resist." The French detachment was equally brave and successful, but, opposed by a stronger force, sustained a more considerable loss.

The relief expected from the north came not; instead of it came a message from Clinton, that he had been delayed by the necessity of repairing his ships, and should endeavor, but might not be able, to despatch the fleet by the 12th. Cornwallis began to feel alarm; the pressure was more severe than he had anticipated. Perceiving no certainty of safety but in flight, he attempted, on the evening of the 16th, to cross over to Gloucester, intending to force his way through the troops under De Choisé, and proceed by rapid marches to New York. Before reaching the opposite shore with the first division of his army, a storm dispersed his boats, and compelled him to abandon the project.

On the morning of the 17th, additional batteries were completed by the besiegers. The cannonade became too powerful to be resisted. The enemy's works were sinking rapidly under it, and nearly all their guns were silenced. Before noon, Cornwallis beat a parley, and proposed that commissioners should be appointed to settle terms of surrender. They were accordingly appointed, and, on the 19th of October, the terms which they had agreed upon were ratified by the respective commanders.

The naval force in the harbor was surrendered to De Grasse, the garrison to the American general. To the garrison the same terms were granted as had been conceded to the troops who capitulated at Charleston; and General Lincoln, who was present, was designated by Washington to receive the sword of Cornwallis. The number of prisoners exceeded seven thousand, of whom nearly three thousand were not fit for duty. Five days after the surrender, the promised fleet, bringing seven thousand troops, ar-

rived at the entrance of the bay; but the admiral, learning the fate of the army, returned to New York.

On no occasion during the war did the American people manifest greater exultation and joy. To the Giver of all good they united in rendering, with grateful hearts, thanksgiving and praise for the decisive victory which he had enabled them to gain. From the nature and duration of the contest, the afflictions of many had been so concentrated upon their country, and so intense was their interest in its fate, that the news of this brilliant success produced the most rapturous emotions, under the operation of which some were deprived of their reason, and one aged patriot in Philadelphia expired.

The loss of a second entire army extinguished every hope which the people of Great Britain had entertained of the subjugation of their colonies. Their burdens, which, although heavy, they had borne with patience, while animated by the prospect of success, now pressed with intolerable weight. They demanded, with an almost unanimous voice, that an end should speedily be put to a hopeless and ruinous war. But the speech of the king to parliament, at the opening of the winter session, discovered that his feelings and determination remained unchanged. Bearing no portion of the burdens of war, he felt, with undiminished force, his reluctance to part with the authority which he had once exercised over three millions of subjects.

But the house of commons, speaking the sentiments of the people, expressed, in energetic language, their disapprobation of all further attempts to reduce the colonies to obedience by force. Lord North, contrary to the wishes of his sovereign, then resigned the office of prime minister. Another cabinet was formed, who advised the king to concede independence to the colonies. Early in the spring of 1782, pacific overtures were accordingly made to the American government, and both nations desisted from hostile measures.

Congress had previously appointed John Adams, of Massachusetts, a commissioner to treat with Great Britain, whenever her government should express a desire for peace. He was one of the earliest opposers of parliamentary encroachment. Actuated by hatred of tyranny as well as love of country, he had, before resistance was contemplated by others, devoted all the energies of his powerful mind to the work of enlightening the people, and preparing them for the contest which he foresaw was approaching. In the Continental congress he was conspicuous for his talents and zeal. Appointed minister to Holland, he succeeded in obtaining a loan at Amsterdam when the resources of his country were almost exhausted, and in concluding with that republic a treaty of amity and commerce.

As colleagues with him, congress now appointed Benjamin Franklin, John Jay, and Henry Laurens. The first was minister to France. He was beloved by his country for the services he had rendered her, and illustrious throughout the world for his inventive genius and practical philosophy. John Jay was a native of New York; was distinguished for the purity of his moral character, and his attachment to the rights of mankind. He had long been a member of congress, and was then the representative of the United States at the Spanish court. Henry Laurens was a citizen of South Carolina, had been president of congress, had been appointed minister to Holland, but, when crossing the ocean, was captured by a British cruiser, and confined, on a charge of treason, to the Tower of London. In the endurance of sufferings in his country's cause, he displayed a character formed after the models of antiquity.

To negotiate with these, Mr. Oswald was appointed on the part of Great Britain. The conferences were opened at Paris in April; and at the same time plenipotentiaries from all the powers at war were assembled, in that city, to treat of a general peace. The pride of the mother country, and her commendable

solicitude for the interests of the loyalists, placed impediments in the way of the negotiations between her and her late colonies which occasioned considerable delay. The first commission to Mr. Oswald authorized him to treat with any commissioners of the American "colonies." Doctor Franklin and Mr. Jay (Mr. Adams and Mr. Laurens not having yet arrived) refused to negotiate until, by the commission of the person appointed to treat with them, they were acknowledged to be the representatives of an independent nation. Such a commission as they required was thereupon sent to Mr. Oswald. The ministers then entered upon a discussion of the terms which the treaty should contain. It was soon settled that the boundaries should include the territory which belonged to the several colonies before the commencement of hostilities; and an additional tract at the north-west, the extent of which was then unknown, was added. Greater difficulty was experienced in adjusting the claim of the United States to the right of fishing on the Banks of Newfoundland; but it was at length agreed that they should have a common right to take fish on those banks, and at other places where they had been accustomed to fish, and liberty to dry them on the unsettled parts of the shores of Nova Scotia, Labrador, and the Magdalen Islands.

The claims of Great Britain in behalf of the loyalists or refugees were not so easily disposed of. She insisted that they should be permitted to return, and not only to enjoy such property as had not been confiscated, but to recover all that had been, or be indemnified for the loss of it. The American envoys replied that they had no authority to make such a stipulation; that the acts of confiscation had been passed by the several states, and the congress had no power to annul them; that neither justice nor humanity required that America should compensate those people, for they had been the principal cause of the war, and been instrumental in aggravating its worst horrors; and that, if Great Britain persisted in

this demand, she would be required to pay for the property destroyed by her troops and adherents in America. But, Mr. Oswald continuing to press the claim with much pertinacity, the envoys of the United States, fearing that the negotiation would otherwise be broken off, at length consented to articles stipulating that congress should earnestly recommend to the respective states to provide for the restitution of all confiscated estates; that British subjects should have full liberty to visit any part of the United States; might remain there twelve months; should meet with no molestation in their endeavors to recover their estates, and all debts at any time previously contracted; and that no future confiscations should be made.

Great Britain still retaining territory near the sources of the Mississippi, it was agreed that her subjects should forever have the right to navigate that river; and in another article she engaged that, when her troops evacuated the country, they should carry away no negroes nor other property of the American inhabitants.

On the 30th of November, 1782, provisional articles were signed, which were to form the basis of a definitive treaty, the conclusion of which was deferred until peace should take place between France, the ally of the United States, and Great Britain; and, on the 20th of the succeeding January, a cessation of hostilities was agreed on.

In the treaty of alliance between France and the United States, both parties agreed that neither should make peace without the formal consent of the other; and the congress moreover instructed their envoys to undertake nothing in their negotiations for peace without the knowledge and concurrence of the French minister. These instructions were given, at the suggestion of France, when the United States were suppliants to her for aid in the war. In the progress of the negotiation, facts came to the knowledge of the American envoys, which, if they did not prove, presented strong reasons for suspicion, that she was en-

deavoring, by secret intrigues, to obtain for herself, to the exclusion of her ally, a participation in the Newfoundland fisheries, and for Spain the territory west of the Alleghany Mountains. Mr. Jay and Mr. Adams then determined to proceed without consulting the French minister; and Dr. Franklin, the only other envoy then present, at length consented. When informed by him that the provisional articles were agreed to, the French minister replied in indignant and reproachful language; but happily the interests of his country forbade a rupture of the negotiations between her and England. On the 3d of September, 1783, a definitive treaty between these powers was signed; and, on the same day, a definitive treaty between England and the United States, containing the same stipulations as the provisional articles, was also signed. In due time, this treaty was ratified by the congress.

While the negotiations were pending, the American troops were retained in service, but remained unemployed at their various stations. They saw with pleasure the end of their toils approaching, but apprehended that their country, when she no longer needed their services, would forget with what zeal and fidelity they had been rendered. The officers, especially, dreaded that, after having, for want of pay, expended their private fortunes, and after having exhausted their strength in the performance of arduous and protracted services, they should be dismissed in poverty, without any secure provision for their future support.

In the course of the war, a resolution had been adopted by congress, stipulating that the officers, after being disbanded, should receive half pay for life. This resolution had never been ratified by the requisite number of states, and no safe reliance could therefore be placed upon it. In December, 1782, the officers forwarded to congress a petition praying that all arrears which were due to them might be discharged, and that, instead of half pay for life, a sum

equal to five years' full pay should be paid or secured to them when disbanded.

The delay of congress to comply with this request produced an alarming agitation in that portion of the army stationed at Newburgh. An address to the officers was privately circulated, written with great ability, and admirably well fitted to work upon those passions which recent sufferings and gloomy forebodings had excited in every bosom. The writer boldly recommended that, as all the applications to the sympathy and justice of congress had failed of success, an appeal should be made to their fears.

Fortunately, the commander-in-chief was in camp. Though conscious that the officers had just cause of complaint, he was aware that duty to his country, and even friendship for them, required that he should prevent the adoption of rash and disorderly expedients to obtain redress. Calling them together, he, by a calm and sensible address, persuaded them to rely still longer upon the disposition of congress to perform for them whatever the limited means of the nation would permit. He then, in a letter to that body, gave an account of these disturbances, and maintained and enforced the claims of the officers with such pathos and strength of reason as produced the adoption of measures which restored quiet, if they did not give satisfaction.

At about the same time, the officers, remembering their common sufferings and services, and contemplating their final separation, formed a society which, with reference to the Roman hero Cincinnatus, who left the plough for the army, and returned victorious from the army to the plough, they called "The Society of the Cincinnati." A medal of gold, stamped with the American eagle, bearing on its breast the devices of the order, was to be worn by the members, suspended by a blue ribbon edged with white, descriptive of the union of America and France. By the articles of the association, the right of membership was to descend to the eldest male posterity, and, in

failure of them, to such collateral descendants as might be considered most worthy. Provision was made that other individuals, distinguished for their patriotism and abilities, might be elected honorary members for life; that every officer, on joining it, should deposit one month's pay, to create a fund from which donations should be made to such officers and their families as might need assistance; and that the members belonging to the respective states should constitute distinct subordinate societies, deputies from which should meet triennially to regulate concerns of general import; and the office of president was conferred on General Washington.

In November, 1783, the PATRIOT ARMY was disbanded, and again mingled with their fellow-citizens. In the same month, New York was evacuated by the British troops. General Washington, taking an affectionate leave of his officers, repaired to Annapolis, where congress was then sitting, and there, at a public audience, with dignity and sensibility, resigned his commission as commander-in-chief of the American armies. Then, with a character illustrious throughout the world, he returned to his residence at Mount Vernon, possessing the sincere love and profound veneration of his countrymen.

CHAPTER XXVII.

THE CONFEDERATION, AND THE ADOPTION OF THE CONSTITUTION.

THE exultation at the achievement of independence, and the joy at the return of peace, began to subside as soon as the people had leisure to reflect upon their situation, and to feel the evils which remained after the greater evil of war had been removed. For seven

years, a large portion of the inhabitants had been called from the labors of the field to the defence of their country; and all the surplus earnings of those who remained at home had been required for the support of the war. Some had been reduced from riches to poverty by the depreciation and final extinction of paper money; others suffered all the evils of want while they held evidences of the debt of the confederation, of which they could obtain neither the principal nor interest. The whole amount of this debt, foreign and domestic, was estimated at forty-two millions of dollars; and each state owed, besides, a large debt of its own.

The commerce of the country had been almost annihilated during the war; and the people possessed not the means of reviving it. They owned but few ships; they had but little to offer in exchange for the productions of Europe; their trade with most other nations was burdened with restrictions such as those nations thought proper to impose, they declining to form treaties with a government possessing such limited powers as the congress. These powers did not embrace the regulation of commerce; each state, considering itself a separate and independent sovereignty, imposed such duties and restrictions upon the trade between itself and foreign nations and the other states as its interests for the moment seemed to require. Commerce, therefore, with nothing to facilitate and much to impede it, languished; and, for the want of its vivifying influence, all the energies of the country were dormant.

The public creditors were clamorous for pay; but the congress possessed not the means, nor the power to obtain the means, to discharge its debts. It could collect no duties from commerce, nor impose taxes: it could do no more than make requisitions upon the states, which it often did; but they were seldom regarded. So low had its credit fallen, that the evidences of its debt were often sold, by the necessitous, for one eighth of their nominal value. The patriots

in congress did not deserve, but they felt, the reproach of credit destroyed and energies paralyzed. Their requisitions having been disregarded, they appealed, in earnest terms, to the states to grant them the power to raise money to pay the principal and interest of the debt by imposing duties on imports. New York alone refused; but her single negative defeated the project.

The people, not receiving all the benefits they expected from independence and liberty, became discontented, jealous, and in some parts refractory. Their jealousy was highly excited by the Society of the Cincinnati. Its ribbon and its hereditary feature gave rise to the suspicion that the object of its founders was to establish an order of nobility; and the provision that men of talents and patriotism, who had not been officers, might be elected honorary members for life, led to the apprehension that the society intended to strengthen itself by uniting with it the principal men in the several states, and thus render it too powerful to be resisted. At the suggestion of General Washington, most of the state societies altered the articles of the association by expunging the hereditary principle, and the right to elect honorary members; and the people then dismissed their fears.

By the treaty of peace, the Mississippi was declared to be the western, and the thirty-first degree of north latitude the southern, boundary of the republic. Spain possessed the country south of that degree, and of course both banks of the Mississippi, at its mouth. She claimed therefore the right to prohibit, and did prohibit, the citizens of the Union from transporting their products upon that river to the ocean. The settlers west of the Alleghany Mountains, then rapidly increasing in numbers, complained loudly of the deprivation which they suffered, and indignantly censured congress for not obtaining for them the privilege withheld. A negotiation was opened with Gardoqui, the Spanish minister to the States; but he refused to yield what was claimed.

Before the war, a free trade was allowed between the colonies and the British West Indies. The former having now become a distinct nation, Great Britain no longer permitted them to enjoy this privilege, and this commerce was carried on wholly in British ships. This kept alive the animosity between the two nations, and other causes contributed to increase it. The British refused to surrender certain posts on the western lakes, and within the acknowledged boundaries of the republic, the retention of which enabled them to control the western Indians, and keep possession of the fur trade; alleging, in justification, that the United States, on their part, had neglected to perform some of the stipulations contained in the treaty of peace. To adjust all matters in dispute, and to form a commercial treaty, John Adams was sent as minister to England; but so little power had congress to bind the States, that he failed to accomplish any thing.

In January, 1786, the legislature of Virginia, at the suggestion of Mr. Madison, appointed commissioners to meet, at Annapolis, in Maryland, such commissioners as might be appointed by the other states, to take into consideration the trade of the country, and recommend a uniform system of commercial regulations. The meeting was held in September; but five states only were represented. After discussion, they came to the conclusion that their number was too small, and their power too limited, to enable them to effect their object. Previous to their adjournment, however, they agreed on a report, in which they recommended that delegates should be appointed, by the several legislatures, to meet at Philadelphia, in the ensuing May, empowered to revise and amend the articles of confederation, wherever found defective. This report was sent to the congress, as well as to the several state legislatures.

The stagnation of trade was most sensibly felt in New England. There a very large portion of the people were dependent on their own labor for support; and the discouragement of domestic industry

produced among them extreme distress. In Massachusetts, it urged to insurrection a portion of the inhabitants. Near the close of the year, they assembled, to the number of two thousand, in the north-western part of the state; and, choosing Daniel Shays their leader, demanded that the collection of debts should be suspended, and that the legislature should authorize the emission of paper money for general circulation. Two bodies of militia, drawn from those parts of the state where disaffection did not prevail, were immediately despatched against them, one under the command of General Lincoln, the other of General Shepard. They were easily dispersed; and afterwards, abandoning their seditious purposes, accepted the proffered indemnity of the government.

But, though easily quelled, this rebellion startled the country, and convinced the active patriots of that day that efficient measures must be adopted to strengthen the government, and call forth the resources of the nation. In pursuance of the suggestion of the meeting at Annapolis, congress, in February, 1787, adopted a resolution recommending that a convention to revise the articles of confederation should be held at Philadelphia; and all the states, except Rhode Island, chose delegates. On the 14th day of May, the convention met: General Washington was unanimously chosen president; and this body of venerable and illustrious statesmen proceeded to perform its important duty.

They deliberated with closed doors; but their journal and a portion of their debates have been published. After a few weeks' discussion, they determined that, instead of revising the articles of confederation, they would frame an entirely new constitution. The various interests and pursuits of the several portions of the confederacy occasioned difficulties which prolonged their labors, and, for a time, rendered agreement almost hopeless. The planting states of the south, and the commercial states of the north, each feared that the other would obtain the preponderancy in the new government. The large were unwilling

that the small states should enjoy, as they did by the articles of confederation, the same weight in the legislature; and the latter were unwilling to relinquish their equality. The subject of slavery often forced itself upon their consideration, and aroused feelings not easily reconciled nor restrained.

But the necessity of a more perfect union, and of a stronger government, which every one felt, impelled all to yield something; and, after a session of four months, they agreed upon a constitution, which was reported to congress, and by that body submitted for ratification to conventions chosen by the people of the respective states.

This constitution, under which the citizens of this republic have enjoyed such unexampled happiness and prosperity, differs, in many particulars, from the articles of confederation. It connects the states more closely together, by establishing over the whole people a supreme government, composed of three departments—legislative, executive, and judicial.

The legislative department consists of a senate and house of representatives, and is styled the congress. The members of the house are chosen by the people, and hold their offices two years. They are apportioned among the several states, according to the number of inhabitants, as ascertained every tenth year by the census, deducting two fifths of the slaves.

The senators are the representatives of the states, in their sovereign capacity, and are chosen by the state legislatures, each choosing two. The constitution ordained that, on assembling at the first session, they should be divided, as equally as possible, into three classes. Those composing the first class were to hold their offices but two years; those composing the second class, four years; those composing the third, six years. All subsequently chosen were to hold their offices six years, except such as should be chosen to supply the places of those who died or resigned. Besides their legislative power, they have, in concurrence with the executive, a voice in all

appointments to office, and in the ratification of treaties.

The executive power is vested in a president, appointed by electors. These electors are chosen in the respective states, in such manner as the different legislatures may prescribe, and are equal in number to the senators and representatives from the state in congress. If, however, no person receives a majority of the votes of these electors, the president is then chosen by the representatives, those from each state having but one vote. He is elected for four years; but he may be impeached by the house, tried by the senate, and, if convicted of misconduct, may be removed from office. He is commander-in-chief of the land and naval forces. He nominates to the senate all officers of the general government, and, with the advice and consent of two thirds of that body, ratifies treaties. A vice-president is chosen at the same time, and in the same manner, to perform all the duties of president when that office is vacant by death, resignation, or removal.

To pass a law, the house and senate must concur; and it is then to be sent to the president, who must approve it. If he does not approve it, he must return it with his objections; and it must then be agreed to by two thirds of both branches. Laws thus enacted are obligatory upon the citizens individually, and may be executed by officers appointed by the president and senate. Under the confederation, the ordinances of congress operated only upon the states, and no efficient mode was provided for enforcing them.

The constitution confers on congress the power to declare war; to raise and support armies; to provide and maintain a navy; to lay and collect taxes, duties, imposts, and excises; to regulate commerce; to coin money; and all other powers of a general or national character. It diminishes in no respect the liberty of the citizen, but transfers a portion of the powers, previously exercised by the state governments, to the government of the Union.

The judicial power of the United States is vested in a supreme court, and such inferior courts as the congress may establish; and it extends to all cases arising under the constitution, the laws of congress, and treaties; to all cases of admiralty and maritime jurisdiction; to all controversies between citizens of different states, and between foreigners and citizens: the judges hold their offices during good behavior.

Although, from regard to consistency, and in the hope, probably, that, at no distant time, slavery would cease to exist, the use of the word *slave* is cautiously avoided in the constitution; yet several of its provisions have reference to that class of persons. It provides that three fifths of their number shall be counted in apportioning representatives and direct taxes; that congress shall not prohibit their importation until the year 1808, nor impose upon them, when imported, a higher duty than ten dollars for each person; and that a slave escaping from one state into another shall not be set free, but shall be delivered up.

The new constitution found opposers as well as advocates; and both were equally zealous. The former, ardently attached to liberty, imagined that rulers possessing such extensive sway, such abundant patronage, and such independent tenure of office, would become fond of the exercise of power, and, in the end, arrogant and tyrannical; and many, believing that their local governments were the surest safeguards of liberty, complained that, in the partition of power, too little was left to them, and too much granted to this new, or, as they affected to consider it, foreign government, which was to be established. The latter, professing and feeling the same attachment to liberty, contended that, to preserve it, an energetic government was necessary. They described, in forcible and convincing terms, the evils actually endured from the inefficiency of the confederation, and demanded that a trial, at least, should be made of the remedy proposed. These took the name of federalists, to denote that they were in favor of a union of the states; the

appellation of antifederalists was given to their antagonists.

In the conventions of eleven states, a majority, though in some instances a small one, decided in favor of its ratification. Provision was then made for the election of the officers to compose the executive and legislative departments. To the highest station, the electors, by a unanimous vote, elected George Washington, illustrious for his virtues and military talents. To the second, that of vice-president, by a vote nearly unanimous, they elevated John Adams, who, in stations less conspicuous, had, with equal patriotism, rendered important services to his country.

CHAPTER XXVIII.

WASHINGTON'S ADMINISTRATION.

THE 4th of March, 1789, was the day designated for the new government to commence its operations. The delays incident to its first organization prevented the inauguration of President Washington until the 30th of April. The ceremony was witnessed, with inexpressible joy, by an immense concourse of citizens. In an impressive address to both houses of congress, he declared, with characteristic modesty, his "incapacity for the mighty and untried cares before him," and offered his "fervent supplications to that Almighty Being, whose providential aid can supply every human defect, that his benediction would consecrate to the liberties and happiness of the people of the United States a government instituted by themselves for these essential purposes; and would enable every instrument employed in its administration to execute with success the functions allotted to his charge."

He also expressed his firm conviction, "that the foundation of our national policy would be laid in the pure and immutable principles of private morality; and that the preëminence of a free government would be exemplified by all the attributes which can win the affections of its citizens, and command the respect of the world.

"I dwell," said he, "on this prospect with every satisfaction which an ardent love for my country can inspire; since there is no truth more thoroughly established, than that there exists, in the economy and course of nature, an indissoluble union between virtue and happiness; between duty and advantage; between the genuine maxims of an honest and magnanimous policy and the solid rewards of public prosperity and felicity; and since the destiny of the republican model of government is justly considered as DEEPLY, perhaps as FINALLY, staked on the experiment intrusted to the American people."

To establish a revenue sufficient for the support of the government, and for the discharge of the debt contracted in the revolutionary war, was the first object of congress. But this was not effected until after considerable discussion arising from imagined differences of local interests, and from feelings of national attachment and antipathy. It was proposed to lay specific duties, or duties according to the quantity, on certain enumerated articles, and on all others an *ad valorem* duty, or a duty on the actual value. A tax was also proposed on the tonnage of vessels, higher on foreign than American; and the plan embraced also a discrimination in favor of such foreign nations as had made commercial treaties with the United States.

By members coming from parts of the Union not directly interested in commerce, the discrimination in favor of American tonnage was resisted as a tax on agriculture, and a premium granted to navigation. To these objections Mr. Madison, a statesman more free than most from local feelings and prejudices, replied that it was important that America should have

ships to carry on her own commerce, to form a school for seamen, and to lay the foundation of a navy. He did not think there was much weight in the observation that a duty on foreign vessels would be a burden on the community, and particularly oppressive to some parts. If it were, it would be a burden of that kind which would ultimately save us from a greater. What but a navy can defend our towns and cities on the sea-coast, or enable us to repel an invading enemy? The parts, if any, on which the burden would press most heavily, are those most exposed to a predatory warfare, and requiring the greatest exertions of the nation for their defence.

The diverse interests of the various parts of the Union occasioned considerable difficulty in adjusting the specific duties on particular articles; but the proposition to make a discrimination in favor of those nations with whom the United States had formed commercial treaties gave rise to a more animated discussion. It was supported by Mr. Madison and others on the ground that public sentiment demanded that foreign nations generally should not be placed on the same footing as the allies of the United States, and that it was wise to impose restrictions upon the commerce of those nations that had not formed commercial treaties with us; for in this way they might be induced to do so. It was opposed by Mr. Benson, Mr. Sherman, and others, for the reasons, that no particular advantages had been derived from the commercial treaties already formed; that the trade with Great Britain was more profitable than it was, or could be made, with France; that such discrimination must be injurious to our commerce, driving it into unnatural channels, and must diminish our revenue, which could not be sufficient to justify such a hazardous experiment; and that trade, if left to itself, would seek and find the channels most profitable to those concerned in it and to the whole country.

As the bill passed the house, it made a discrimination in favor of American tonnage, and also in favor

of those nations which had formed commercial treaties with the United States. To the latter discrimination the senate disagreed, and the point was eventually, but reluctantly, yielded by the house. Thus provision was made for drawing into the national treasury funds which had before been collected and appropriated by the states on the sea-coast.

Laws creating a department of state, then called the department of foreign affairs, of the treasury, and of war, were then proposed and enacted. When the first was under consideration, a question of surpassing importance was discussed and decided. The constitution gives the appointment of officers to the president and senate, but is silent on the power of removal. This bill contained a clause which declared or implied that the president alone possessed and might exercise that power. Many strenuously denied this, contending that, as the power had not been expressly granted, except in case of impeachment, it could be exercised, if at all in any other case, only by the same authority that made appointments; that it was inconsistent with the principles of free government to give, by construction, such a dangerous power to any individual; that it was a monarchical prerogative, was liable to great abuses, would render officers entirely dependent upon the whim or caprice of one man, and convert them into mere tools and creatures of his will; that it could not be supposed that the office of president would always be filled by men as virtuous as he who now filled it — and by an ambitious man the power might and would be wielded in a manner highly dangerous to liberty.

Those who believed that the president did possess, and ought to possess, the power of removal, replied that, by the constitution, the executive power was vested in the president, and no power was, in its nature, more clearly executive than this; that the president was expressly required to take care that the laws were faithfully executed; — and how could he perform this duty unless authorized to remove an officer who

should disobey his orders? — that the danger apprehended was a mere figment of the imagination, for it would not be supposed that the people would choose for their chief magistrate a man who would be guilty of removing a meritorious officer for the purpose of appointing a favorite in his stead: such an act, it was alleged, would subject him to impeachment and removal from his own high trust.

After a long and able debate, the bill containing the important clause was passed, by a majority, in the senate, of two, and, in the house, of twelve. Nothing so closely assimilates our government to the monarchies of Europe as the construction, doubtful at least, thus given to the constitution. Thomas Jefferson was appointed secretary of the department of state, Alexander Hamilton of the treasury, and Henry Knox of war.

In the same session, a national judiciary was constituted and organized, John Jay being appointed chief justice; a resolve was passed directing the secretary of the treasury to prepare a plan for the support of public credit; and amendments to the constitution were proposed, which were subsequently ratified by the states, and which, removing many of the objections made to it, rendered it acceptable to all.

After the adjournment of congress, the president made a tour through New England, where he was received by the inhabitants with an affection bordering on adoration. People of all classes crowded to behold the man whose virtues and talents exalted him, in their view, above the heroes of ancient and modern times; and to present to him the undissembled homage of their grateful hearts. But to none did his visit give more exquisite pleasure than to the officers and soldiers of the "patriot army," who had been his companions in suffering and in victory, who were endeared to him by their bravery and fidelity in war, and by the magnanimity with which, in peace, they endured unmerited neglect and poverty.

At the next session of congress, which commenced

in January, 1790, Mr. Hamilton made his celebrated report upon the public debts contracted during the revolutionary war. These debts he divided into three classes — those contracted by congress to foreigners; those contracted by the same body to American citizens; and those incurred by the individual states in support of the common cause. Taking into view the sacred nature of these debts, and the policy of sustaining public credit, he recommended that all of them should be assumed and funded by the new government; and that provision should be made for paying the interest by imposing taxes on certain articles of luxury, and on spirits distilled within the country. This recommendation was supported by many and able arguments.

When this report came under consideration in the house of representatives, no objection was made to the assumption of the debts contracted by congress to foreigners, amounting, according to the estimate, to about twelve millions of dollars. The assumption of the other classes of debts was opposed by that party who had seen, or thought they had seen, in the constitution, many features hostile to freedom. They now expressed their fears that this measure would render the government still stronger, by drawing around it a numerous and powerful body of public creditors, who, in all its contests with the states or the people, would be bound, by the strongest of all ties, — that of interest, — to support it, whether right or wrong. This party, existing principally in the Southern States, and professing an ardent attachment to the equal rights of man, took the name of republican.

It has already been stated that the evidences of the public debt had often been sold, by the necessitous, for much less than their nominal amount. They had been purchased principally by the rich and intelligent; and a large proportion was held in the Middle and Northern States. The question had been much discussed among the people, whether the present holder should receive the full amount, or whether a discrim-

ination should be made, giving to him the current market value, and the remainder to the original holder. A proposition to make this discrimination was brought forward, in congress, by Mr. Madison; but, after considerable debate, was rejected by a large majority.

More were opposed to the assumption of the debts of the several states than of those contracted by the confederation. They contended that no power to assume them was given by the constitution; they apprehended danger from transferring the obligation from the states to the general government, believing that the effect would be to weaken the former and strengthen the latter, already too strong, by attaching to it all the public creditors; and they feared that the consolidated debt would be too burdensome for one government to sustain. On the other side, it was alleged that, as the debts were contracted in a common cause, and to effect an object which the congress was instituted to effect, they were, in fact, the debts of the Union; that it was unjust to leave those states, which had exhibited most zeal, and made the greatest efforts, to bear burdens assumed for a purpose equally beneficial to all; and that, as the states had transferred to congress the command of the principal sources of revenue, it was but just that the debts should follow the funds out of which they must be paid. After a long and earnest discussion, the house, by a small majority, refused to assume those debts; the bill which was sent to the senate providing for the assumption of such only as had been incurred by the confederation.

Afterwards this national measure was connected, as is too frequently the case in legislative bodies, with one which had excited much local feeling. Since the congress had been driven from Philadelphia, in 1783, by the mutiny of a part of the Pennsylvania line, it had usually held its sessions in New York. Several attempts had been made, by the members from the Middle and Southern States, to establish the seat of government farther south. A majority readily agreed to leave New York; but the same majority disagreed

whenever any particular place was proposed. While the assumption bill lay upon the table of the senate, an arrangement was entered into by the majority, that the seat of government should be established, for ten years, at Philadelphia, and afterwards permanently at a place to be selected on the River Potomac; and it was understood that, should this arrangement be carried into effect, some southern members would withdraw their opposition to the assumption of the debts of the states. A law establishing the seat of government was accordingly enacted. The bill on the table of the senate was then taken up; an amendment was adopted, assuming specific amounts of those debts, being in the aggregate twenty-one millions and a half: in this shape the bill was passed in that body, and sent to the house, where the amendment was agreed to, two members representing districts on the Potomac changing their votes. The whole sum funded amounted to a little more than seventy-five millions of dollars; upon a part of which three per cent., and upon the remainder six per cent., interest was to be paid.

The effect of this measure was great and rapid. The price of the public paper, which had fallen to twelve or fifteen cents on the dollar, suddenly rose to the sum expressed on the face of it. This difference was gained, in most instances, by purchasers of the securities, who, feeling indebted, for this immense accession of wealth, to the plans of the secretary, regarded him with enthusiastic attachment. But in others, this wealth, suddenly acquired without merit, excited envy and dissatisfaction. These joined the republican party; who, fancying they were witnessing the fulfilment of their prediction, became more active in their opposition.

The recommendation of the secretary to impose additional duties, was not acted upon until the next session of congress. Those on distilled spirits were proposed in order to render the burdens of the inhab-

itants beyond the Alleghany Mountains, where no other spirits were consumed, equal to those of the inhabitants on the sea-coast, who consumed most of the articles on which an import duty was paid. The measure was warmly opposed by the southern and western members. That an increase of the revenue was not shown to be necessary; that the duty on distilled spirits was an excise duty, the most odious of any in free governments; that the people would be dissatisfied with this intrusion of a foreign government into local affairs; and that, if more revenue was wanted, a better mode of raising it could be devised, — were the arguments urged against it. But a considerable majority believed that the revenue already provided was not sufficient to enable the government to support the credit of the nation by fulfilling its obligations, and saw nothing oppressive nor unjust in the duties recommended; and, in the beginning of 1791, an act imposing them was passed.

The secretary of the treasury had also recommended the incorporation of a national bank, as “an institution of primary importance to the prosperous administration of the finances, and of the greatest utility in the operations connected with the support of public credit;” and a bill for that purpose was introduced at this session. It met with strong opposition, especially from members coming from the planting and agricultural states of the south and west. They expressed fears that a large moneyed institution would be so conducted as to be injurious to the community, and denied that congress had power to create a corporation, the constitution not expressly granting it. They were answered by the remark that, wherever banks had been established, under proper regulations, they had produced beneficial effects; and that each of the powers expressly given to regulate commerce, to collect taxes, to borrow money, and to pay debts, included, as an incident, the power to incorporate a bank, that being one of the means often employed to

effect those objects, as clearly as the power to regulate commerce included, as an incident, that to erect lighthouses.

At the close of a long debate, in which the speakers on both sides sustained and enforced their respective opinions with great ability, the bill was passed by both houses. The president having, before approving it, required the opinion, in writing, of the members of his cabinet, Mr. Jefferson and Mr. Randolph, both republicans, denied, Mr. Hamilton and General Knox, both federalists, asserted its constitutionality. After considering deliberately the arguments laid before him, he decided that congress had the power to pass it, and affixed his signature. The funding of the debts, the imposition of new taxes, and the incorporation of a national bank, were measures recommended by Mr. Hamilton, who was considered the leader of the federal party: the republicans condemned them, and, by appealing to the reason as well as to the prejudices of the people, induced many to believe that they were not only calculated, but intended, to fasten upon the country the evils, and transfer to it the aristocratical features, of the British system of government.

When the new government was first organized, but eleven states had ratified the constitution. Afterwards, North Carolina and Rhode Island, the two dissenting states, adopted it; the former in November, 1789, the latter in May, 1790. In 1791, Vermont adopted it, and applied to congress to be admitted unto the Union. The territory of this state, situated between New Hampshire and New York, was claimed by both, and both had made grants of land within its limits. In 1777, the inhabitants, refusing to submit to either, declared themselves independent. Although not represented in the Continental congress, yet, during the war, they embraced the cause of their brethren in the other states; and to them their aid was often rendered, and was always efficient. Agreeably to their request, an act was now passed, constituting Vermont one of the

members of the Union. An act was also passed, declaring that the district of Kentucky, then a part of Virginia, should be admitted into the Union on the 1st day of June, in the succeeding year.

In 1791 was completed the first census or enumeration of the inhabitants of the United States. They amounted to 3,921,326, of which number 695,655 were slaves. The revenue, according to the report of the secretary of the treasury, amounted to 4,771,000 dollars, the exports to about 19,000,000, and the imports to about 20,000,000. A great improvement in the circumstances of the people began at this period to be visible. The establishment of a firm and regular government, and confidence in the men whom they had chosen to administer it, gave an impulse to their exertions which bore them rapidly forward in the career of prosperity.

In 1790, a termination was put to the war which, for several years, had raged between the Creek Indians and the state of Georgia. Pacific overtures were also made to the hostile tribes inhabiting the banks of the Sciota and the Wabash. These being rejected, an army of fourteen hundred men, commanded by General Harmer, was despatched against them. Two battles were fought near Chillicothe, in Ohio, between successive detachments from this army and the Indians, in which the latter were victorious.

Imboldened by these successes, they made more vigorous attacks upon the frontier settlements, which suffered all the distressing calamities of an Indian war. Additional troops were raised, and the command of the whole was given to General St. Clair. With near two thousand men, he marched, in October, into the wilderness. By desertion and detachments, this force was reduced to fourteen hundred. On the 3d of November, they encamped a few miles from the villages on the Miami, intending to remain there until joined by those who were absent.

But before sunrise, the next morning, just after the troops were dismissed from the parade, they were at-

tacked unexpectedly by the Indians. The new levies, who were in front, rushed back in confusion upon the regulars. These, who had been hastily formed, were thrown into disorder. They, however, with great intrepidity, advanced into the midst of the enemy, who retired from covert to covert, keeping always beyond reach, and again returning as soon as the troops were recalled from pursuit. In these charges many brave and experienced officers were killed; the loss of men was also great, and no permanent impression was made upon the enemy.

At length, after a contest of three or four hours, St. Clair, whose ill health disabled him from performing the active duties of commander, determined to withdraw from the field the remnant of his troops. The instant that the directions to retire were given, a disorderly flight commenced. Fortunately for the survivors, the victorious Indians were soon recalled from pursuit to the camp, by their avidity for plunder; and the vanquished continued their retreat unmolested to the frontier settlements.

In this battle, the numbers engaged on each side were supposed to be equal. Of the whites, the slaughter was almost beyond example. Six hundred and thirty were killed and missing, and two hundred and sixty were wounded, — a loss which proves at once the obstinacy of the defence and the bravery of the assailants. On receiving information of this disaster, congress, resolving to prosecute the war with increased vigor, made provision for augmenting, by enlistment, the military force of the nation to five thousand men.

In the autumn of 1792, General Washington was again unanimously elected president of the American republic, and in March, 1793, was inducted into office. For vice-president, the principal candidates were the incumbent, John Adams, and George Clinton, of New York. The former was charged with being friendly to distinct orders in society, and was believed to be in

favor of the system of finance which had been adopted. The latter had been governor of New York during the revolutionary war, and had discharged the duties of that office with courage and energy. He stood high among that class of politicians who contended for the supremacy of the states, and had opposed with zeal the adoption of the constitution. His sentiments in regard to recent measures were known to be the same with those of the minority in congress. Mr. Adams received seventy-seven votes, and was elected. Mr. Clinton received fifty, Mr. Jefferson four, and Mr. Burr one.

While the Americans, under a government of their own choice, were enjoying, with but little alloy, the blessings of independence and freedom, the people of France, by whose aid these blessings had been acquired, were experiencing all the miseries of anarchy. Grievously oppressed by institutions originating in times of ignorance and barbarism, they had risen in the majesty of physical strength, and declared their determination to be free. Against a whole people, aroused by their sufferings to demand their rights, what effectual resistance can be opposed? Before their energetic exertions, prompted by enthusiasm and directed by fatal skill, their ancient government crumbled to the dust.

Passing at once from abject slavery to entire liberty, their conduct was marked by the most shocking excesses. The mild virtues of their king, alleviating but slightly the evils of despotism, could not save him from that resentment which consigned to indiscriminate destruction the hereditary orders. Himself, his queen, and many thousands of the nobility and clergy, suffered death on the scaffold. A new government was instituted, having for its fundamental principle the universal equality of man. Its form was often changed, and the reins of authority were successively, but unsteadily, held by the temporary favorites of an unenlightened and capricious people.

The Americans could not regard with indifference this struggle of their allies for freedom. They considered their excesses as the first effects of sudden relief from oppression, and hoped that experience would produce sobriety of conduct and reverence for law. They hailed the French revolution as the offspring of their own, and cherished the flattering expectation that, by the diffusion of the principles of liberty, the whole civilized world would become partakers of its blessings.

The French people, at the same time, regarded the Americans as their brethren, bound to them by the ties of gratitude; and when the kings of Europe, dreading the establishment of republicanism in her borders, assembled in arms to restore monarchy to France, they looked across the Atlantic for sympathy and assistance. The sympathy felt for them was almost universal; and not a few evinced a disposition to rush to their assistance. In some of the seaports, preparations were in progress to send out privateers to prey upon the commerce of their enemies. Washington foresaw that, if such proceedings, forbidden by the laws of nations, were permitted, America would be irresistibly drawn into the vortex of foreign politics and a foreign war. He therefore, in April, 1793, issued his famous proclamation of neutrality, declaring that it was the duty of the United States to pursue an impartial and friendly conduct towards the belligerent powers, and warning the citizens to avoid all acts inconsistent with that duty. Wise and expedient as this measure undoubtedly was, yet a vast majority felt it as an unwelcome check to the indulgence of their sympathy for a people struggling in the same cause in which they had just been successful; and some, blinded by their devotion to France, began to feel less attachment to its author.

Before the date of the proclamation, the new government of France had recalled the minister whom the king had sent to the United States, and appointed the citizen Genet, of ardent temper and a zealous re-

publican, to supply his place. Near the last of April, he arrived at Charleston, in South Carolina, where he was received by the governor and the citizens in a manner expressive of their warm attachment to his country and their cordial approbation of the recent change in her institutions.

Flattered by his reception, and presuming the whole people and the government were actuated by similar feelings, he assumed the authority of expediting privateers from that port to cruise against the vessels of nations who were enemies to France, but at peace with the United States. Notwithstanding this illegal assumption of power, he received, on his journey to Philadelphia, extravagant marks of public attachment; and, on his arrival there, "crowds flocked from every avenue of the city to meet the republican ambassador of an allied nation." Intoxicated by these continued and increased demonstrations of regard, he persisted in forming and executing hostile schemes against the enemies of France, as well on the ocean as against the colonies of Spain upon our southern border.

The British minister complained to the president, who, by the unanimous advice of his cabinet, directed Mr. Jefferson, the secretary of state, to lay before the minister of France the principles which would regulate the conduct of the executive in relation to the powers at war. These principles forbade the course which Mr. Genet had pursued. Relying on the popularity of his nation, he attempted, by insolent and offensive declarations, to drive the president from the ground he had taken. He threatened to appeal from the government to the people — a measure which other agents of the French republic had adopted with success in Europe. Here the result was different. The people rallied around rulers having the same interest as themselves. The minister was abandoned by most of his friends: his government, at the request of the president, annulled his powers; and, unwilling to return, he remained in the country, a striking example of the imbecility of a factious individual among a peo-

ple confiding in their rulers, and contented with their lot.

This conduct of Mr. Genet, the atrocities committed by the French people, and the dreaded danger of their example, alienated from them many of the citizens of the United States, especially those belonging to the federal party. And as the world was then agitated by the mighty contest between France and Great Britain, — a contest which permitted not neutrality of feeling, — those who became hostile to the former became naturally the friends of the latter. To her they were besides attracted by identity of origin, by resemblance of institutions, by similarity of language, by community of laws, of literature, and of religion.

The republicans retained an affection for the French but little, if at all, diminished. They still looked forward to their ultimate success. Surrendering their judgment to their feelings, they indulged hope against the dictates of reason. In discussing foreign politics, each party became imbittered against the other. The republicans charged the federalists with hostility to free principles and attachment to England; the federalists charged the republicans with contempt of law and order, and with blind attachment, and even subserviency, to France. Over both, Washington, admitting no thought but for his own country, watched with anxious solicitude, striving to restrain their aberrations, and to temper their mutual animosities.

Early in the session of congress which began in December, 1793, Mr. Jefferson, the secretary of state, submitted a report upon the commerce and navigation of the United States, made in compliance with a resolution of the house passed in 1791. It exhibited, in detail, the amount of the various articles exported to the principal commercial nations, and of the imports received in return. The exports consisted principally of provisions and raw materials; the imports, of manufactured articles. It is worthy of remark that among the former, cotton is not mentioned. Of the exports,

nearly one half was carried to Great Britain and her dominions; of the imports, about four fifths were brought from the same countries; and yet of the shipping of the United States not quite one sixth was employed in this trade.

The report proceeded to state the privileges and restrictions of our commerce with the nations referred to. In most of them, the articles produced in the United States were subject to heavy duties, and some of them were prohibited. In England, their trade was on as good a footing as was the trade of other countries; but she enjoyed, in the commercial intercourse between the two nations, privileges and advantages far superior to those which she permitted to the United States. These, however, were not the result of special regulations, but of her corn laws, navigation act, and colonial system.

To remove, modify, or counteract, the various restrictions imposed, by foreign nations, on our commerce, the secretary recommended amicable arrangements as the most eligible; but, if they could not be effected, the interests of the country, in his opinion, required, that countervailing regulations should be adopted. He would impose the same restrictions and burdens on their commerce and navigation as they imposed on ours.

Upon the reception of this report, Mr. Madison submitted his celebrated commercial resolutions, the most important features of which were, that higher duties should be imposed on the manufactures and vessels of those nations which had formed no commercial treaties with the United States; and that all losses which might be sustained by our citizens from the operation of particular regulations of any country, contrary to the law of nations, should be reimbursed out of the additional duties on the manufactures and vessels of such country. At this time, we had a commercial treaty with France, and none with Great Britain; and information had just been received that the

latter nation had issued instructions declaring it to be lawful to send into English ports all vessels laden with grain or flour and bound to France.

Upon these resolutions arose a long, eloquent, and at times acrimonious debate. The speakers too often lost sight of the effect which their adoption might have on the interests of their own country, and viewed them only as the means of aiding France and injuring Great Britain. The principal arguments, pertinent to the subject, in support of them, were, that every nation ought to demand and enjoy equal advantages in her commercial intercourse with all others; that our commerce was so beneficial to Great Britain, that she would, by the adoption of these resolutions, be coerced to modify her restrictions, and to conclude with us a treaty on favorable terms; that such was the course of trade, that we were dependent on her for articles of necessary consumption, and indebted to her merchants in immense sums, which were evils of alarming magnitude, as they placed us almost at her mercy, and gave to her an influence over our politics, if not over our national councils; that, ever since the peace, the conduct of Great Britain had been arrogant and hostile, that of France cordial and friendly, and surely, if no other reasons existed, it was just and expedient to reciprocate friendly as well as hostile conduct; that, by refusing to take the manufactures of Great Britain, we should cripple her power and benefit ourselves, by drawing from her dominions into ours those artisans whose wages we in fact paid, but who were not permitted to consume the productions of our soil.

True it is, said those opposed to the resolutions, that our trade with Great Britain is of greater magnitude than with all the rest of the world; but it is so because she manufactures what we want, and sells cheaper than other nations; her merchants, too, give credit, which those of France do not; and credit, to a young and growing country, destitute of capital, is a solid advantage, and essential to its prosperity: that

to compel the people to use the manufactures of France might be beneficial to her, but must be injurious to them, for she would supply but few of the articles they wanted, and would not sell such as she could supply on favorable terms: that as to American navigation, it had already a discriminating duty in its favor, and had, under all the disadvantages complained of, gained upon that of Great Britain; in 1789, but one half, now two thirds, of our commerce was carried on in American vessels: that it could not be true that the debts due to British merchants enabled that nation to exercise influence over our politics or councils; they probably had a different effect; Virginia owed them large sums, and her representatives gave a strenuous support to these hostile resolutions; New England owed little, and her representatives opposed them: and that, if Great Britain had given us cause of complaint, by retaining the western posts, inciting the Indians to hostility, and advancing novel belligerent pretensions, the adoption of commercial regulations, injuring ourselves more than her, was not the proper mode of avenging our wrongs.

In February, one of the resolutions was adopted by a small majority. While the remainder were before the house, information was received that other instructions had been issued by Great Britain, subjecting to detention all neutral, and of course American, vessels engaged in the trade with the French colonies. This increasing the animosity against her, a bill was introduced, and passed the house, prohibiting all trade in articles produced or manufactured in Great Britain or Ireland; but, it being known that the executive had determined to institute a new mission to England, for the purpose of making another attempt to adjust all disputes by negotiation, it was rejected in the senate, by the casting vote of the vice-president.

Before this subject was disposed of, another came before congress, upon which the difference of opinion was not less decided, nor the debate less ardent. The president informed congress that he had not been

able to negotiate a peace with the dey of Algiers, whose corsairs had lately captured eleven American merchantmen, and made one hundred prisoners. To protect our commerce and seamen, and to punish Barbarian aggressions, a bill was introduced authorizing the construction of six frigates, four of forty-four guns, and two of thirty-six. It was strenuously opposed by the republican members. They objected to it as the commencement of a permanent navy, which would entail upon the country expenses continually increasing, and render it utterly impossible to discharge the national debt. No instance, they said, could be mentioned in history of a nation having a navy and not heavily burdened with debt. Besides, the force proposed was incompetent to the object; and a navy, unless large, would soon fall a prey to the great maritime powers of the world. Peace with Algiers, or the protection of other powers, could be purchased with money, and either would cost less than the construction and support of a navy. Over these arguments, the honor of the nation, a rich commerce exposed to capture and entitled to protection, and the cries of a hundred citizens suffering the indignity and cruelties of Algerine slavery, prevailed. The bill passed both houses, and received the cordial assent of the president.

After the defeat of St. Clair by the Indians, in 1791, General Wayne was appointed to command the American forces. Taking post near the country of the enemy, he made assiduous and long-protracted endeavors to negotiate a peace. Failing in these, he marched against them, at the head of three thousand men. On the 20th of August, 1794, an action took place in the vicinity of one of the British garrisons, on the banks of the Miami. A rapid and vigorous charge roused the savages from their coverts, and they were driven more than two miles at the point of the bayonet. Broken and dismayed, they fled without renewing the combat. Their houses and cornfields were destroyed, and forts were erected on the sites

of the towns laid waste. In 1795, a treaty was concluded at Grenville, which, long and faithfully observed, gave peace and security to the frontier inhabitants, permitting the superabundant population of the Eastern States to spread with astonishing rapidity over the fertile region north-west of the Ohio.

The tax which had been imposed upon spirits distilled within the country, bearing heavily upon the people in the western counties of Pennsylvania, produced their disaffection and disturbance. Great exertions were made to excite the public resentment against those who should willingly pay it, and especially against the officers appointed to collect it. In September, 1791, a large meeting of malcontents was held at Pittsburgh, at which resolutions, encouraging resistance to the laws, were passed; and subsequently other meetings were held, at which similar resolutions were adopted. Committees of correspondence were also appointed to give unity of system to their measures, and to increase the number of their associates.

A proclamation of the president, exhorting all persons to desist from illegal combinations, and calling on the magistrates to execute the laws, was disregarded. The marshal of the state, while serving processes upon delinquents and offenders, was resisted and fired upon. The inspector of the revenue, dreading the indignation of the populace, procured a small detachment of soldiers to guard his house. These were attacked by a body of five hundred insurgents, who, setting fire to several contiguous buildings, obliged the soldiers to leave the house and deliver themselves up. Several individuals, zealous in supporting the government, were ordered to quit the country, and compelled to obey. An intention was openly avowed of resisting the general government with the view of extorting a repeal of the offensive laws. The effective strength of the insurgents was computed at seven thousand men.

The president, conceiving himself bound, by the

most solemn obligations, "to take care that the laws be faithfully executed," determined to call out a part of the militia of Pennsylvania, and the adjacent states, to suppress this insurrection. In the autumn of 1794, fifteen thousand were detached, and, being placed under the command of Governor Lee, of Virginia, were marched into the disaffected counties. The strength of this army rendering resistance desperate, none was offered, and no blood was shed. A few of the most active leaders were seized and detained for legal prosecution. The great body of the insurgents, on submission, were pardoned, as were also the leaders, after trial and conviction of treason. The government acquired the respect of the people, by this exertion of its force, and their affection, by this display of its lenity.

Since the peace of 1783, Great Britain and the United States had each incessantly complained that the other had violated the stipulations contained in the treaty; — the former, that the States had prevented the loyalists from regaining possession of their estates, and British subjects from recovering debts contracted before the revolutionary war; the latter, that the British troops had carried away slaves when they evacuated the country, for which the owners ought to be compensated, and that certain military posts on the northern frontier, and within the acknowledged boundaries of the republic, had not been delivered up. By retaining these posts, Great Britain was enabled to control the trade with the Indians; and she was accused of inciting them to commit depredations upon the frontier settlements. The discussion of these mutual complaints had been carried on with no little acrimony and zeal; and to the list of their wrongs the United States had now others to add — depredations on their commerce, impressment of seamen, and the assertion of rights as a belligerent, which they, being neutral, were not disposed to acknowledge.

In 1794, Mr. Jay was appointed minister to England. He concluded a treaty adjusting most matters in

dispute, and, in the spring of 1795, it was laid before the senate. That body, on the 24th of June, by precisely a constitutional majority, advised the president to ratify it on condition that an article should be added suspending a portion of one that it contained. Being doubtful whether the conditional ratification of a treaty was constitutional, he deferred a decision until after his return from a visit to Mount Vernon. Its contents having, in the mean time, been disclosed, the republican party exclaimed, in intemperate language, against many of its stipulations. The partisans of France swelled the cry of condemnation. Public meetings were held, in various parts of the Union, at which resolutions were passed expressing decided disapprobation of the treaty, and an earnest wish that the president would withhold his ratification. Such appeared to be the wish of a great majority of the people.

That any treaty should be made with Great Britain, while she was at war with our republican ally, seemed to many an offence that ought not to be forgiven. The particular objections to the treaty were, that it did not allow the United States to trade with the British West Indies; that it omitted to secure indemnity for slaves carried away; that it did not provide against the impressment of seamen; that it expressly acknowledged naval stores to be contraband of war, while the treaty with France provided that they should not be so considered; that it conceded that the goods of an enemy were liable to capture when found in the vessels of either party, — in other words, rejected the principle that free ships make free goods, to which France and the United States had agreed. In these last-mentioned provisions, the treaty was in conformity with the laws of nations; but it was for the interests of America and France that those laws should be thus far altered by international agreement. It was, moreover, contended that several stipulations in the treaty transcended the limits of the treaty-making power.

General Washington, on his return from Mount Vernon, considering that several of the articles were favorable to the United States, believing that an arrangement of the principal subjects of controversy with England was highly important, and that the treaty before him was the best that could, at that time, be obtained, gave it his assent, on the 14th of August, in defiance of popular clamor. So great was the confidence reposed, by the people generally, in their beloved chief magistrate, that the public sentiment began immediately to change. The friends of the treaty not only increased in number, but gained courage to speak in its defence; and during the fall of 1795, the nation was agitated by a zealous and animated discussion of its merits.

The king of Great Britain assented to the alteration which had been proposed by the senate, and at the next session of congress it was laid before the house of representatives. A larger proportion of that body than of the people were dissatisfied with it, and in them the feeling of dissatisfaction was even more intense. A resolution was proposed that the president be requested to lay before the house a copy of the instructions to Mr. Jay, and of the correspondence and other documents relative to the treaty. This produced a long debate, in which less was said on the propriety of passing the resolution than on the nature and extent of the treaty-making power.

The friends of the administration maintained that a treaty was a contract between two nations, which, under the constitution, the president, by and with the advice and consent of the senate, had a right to make; and that it was made when, by and with such advice and consent, it had received his final act. Its obligations then became complete on the United States; and to refuse to comply with its stipulations was to break the treaty, and to violate the faith of the nation.

The opposition contended, that the power to make treaties, if applicable to every object, conflicted with

powers which were vested exclusively in the congress collectively ; that either the treaty-making power must be limited in its operation, so as not to touch objects committed by the constitution to congress, or the assent and coöperation of the house of representatives must be required to give validity to any compact, so far as it might comprehend those objects. A treaty, therefore, which required an appropriation of money, or any act of congress to carry it into effect, had not acquired its obligatory force until the house of representatives had exercised its powers in the case. They were at full liberty to make, or to withhold, such appropriation, or other law, without incurring the imputation of violating any existing obligation, or breaking the faith of the nation.

The debate on this question was animated and vehement ; all the party passions were enlisted in it ; it was protracted through more than a fortnight ; and, when the final vote was taken, there appeared to be in favor of the resolution sixty-two, and against it thirty-seven. It was presented to the president ; but he, in a firm and argumentative answer, in which he exposed the impolicy of publishing all the correspondence with foreign ministers, and distinctly avowed the opinion that a treaty became the law of the land as soon as it was ratified by the president and senate, and that the assent of the house was not necessary, declined complying with the request. This unexpected refusal added resentment to the zeal of opposition. A resolution was proposed that whenever, in a treaty, stipulations are made on subjects committed by the constitution to congress, the house has a right to deliberate on the expediency of carrying them into effect. After a debate, in which the answer was freely criticised, the resolution was adopted by a vote of fifty-seven to thirty-five.

This treaty containing stipulations which could not be executed without an appropriation of money by congress, a resolution was proposed, that provision ought to be made by law to carry it into effect. This

was so far altered as to declare that it was expedient to make such provision; and in this form, after another animated debate, it was adopted by a majority of two votes. The treaty went into operation without further opposition; and the subsequent prosperity of American commerce, though it may be attributed to other causes, is strong presumptive proof that the course of the president was correct and wise. It was certainly dignified and independent.

The conduct of Spain towards the United States had ever been cold and unfriendly. She feared lest the principles of liberty, and the desire of independence should find their way into her contiguous American province. During the negotiations at Paris, which resulted in peace, she secretly exerted her influence to cause the western boundaries of the new republic, from the great lakes to Florida, to be fixed two or three hundred miles east of the Mississippi. To the repeated offers, which were afterwards made, to form with her a commercial treaty, and to make arrangements respecting the mutual navigation of that river, she pertinaciously declined to accede.

When the inhabitants beyond the Alleghany Mountains had become numerous, she denied them access to the ocean by the medium of that river, the mouth of which was within her province of Louisiana. She intended, perhaps, to show them the importance of that privilege by withholding it, and to allure them, by the promise of restoring it, to submit to her authority. The people of Kentucky, indignant at the deprivation, laid their complaints before congress. In bold and forcible language they asserted their rights, by the laws of God and of nature, to the free use of that noble river, and demanded that, at any cost, the acknowledgment of that right should be obtained.

At length Spain became involved in a war with France. Embarrassed at home, and intimidated by the unauthorized preparations which, under the auspices of Genet, were making in Kentucky to invade Louisiana, she intimated her readiness to conclude a

satisfactory treaty, should a minister be sent to Madrid for that purpose. Thomas Pinkney was accordingly appointed. In October, 1795, a treaty was signed, securing to the citizens of the United States the free navigation of the Mississippi to the ocean, and the privilege of landing and depositing cargoes at New Orleans.

Thus were adjusted all controversies with two European powers, which, while they existed, retarded the prosperity and disturbed the tranquillity of the country; and from which, at different periods, even war was seriously apprehended. In 1795, a treaty was also concluded with the regency of Algiers, with which the republic was previously at war. It stipulated that the United States, in conformity with the practice of other nations, should, as the price of peace, pay an annual tribute to the sovereign of that country.

Within the last two or three years, several changes took place in the important offices of the nation. On the first day of the year 1794, Mr. Jefferson resigned the office of secretary of state. He had performed the duties of that office with extraordinary ability, and to the entire satisfaction of the president. Having been minister to France at the commencement of the revolution there, he became acquainted with its prime movers, and, anticipating, from their exertions, the diffusion of the principles of liberty and the renovation of the government, was, in the early stages of its progress, its enthusiastic and undisguised defender. Of the republican party he was considered the leader, enjoying their highest confidence and warmest attachment. He was succeeded by Edmund Randolph, of Virginia.

On the last day of January, 1795, Mr. Hamilton retired from the office of secretary of the treasury. He possessed distinguished talents, and had exerted those talents to establish order where all was confusion, and to raise from the lowest depression the credit of the country. His complete success greatly

exalted his reputation; and to him the federalists felt a sincerity of attachment equalled only by that entertained for Washington. With him he had served in the revolutionary war, and had then acquired his confidence and affection, which he ever afterwards retained. Being the advocate of an energetic government, and averse to intrusting much power with the people, he was peculiarly obnoxious to the republican party. He was accused of partiality to England, and of misconduct in office. After the closest scrutiny, his official character was acknowledged, by his enemies, to be without stain. He was succeeded by Oliver Wolcott, of Connecticut.

At the close of the year 1794, General Knox resigned the office of secretary of war, and Colonel Pickering, of Massachusetts, was appointed in his place. In August, Mr. Randolph, having lost the confidence of the president, and having in consequence retired from the administration, Mr. Pickering was appointed his successor in the department of state, and James M^rHenry, of Maryland, was made secretary of war. No republican being now at the head of any of the departments, many of the leaders of that party withdrew their support from the administration; and licentious individuals, in their abusive attacks, dared to charge even the president with corruption. But the confidence of a vast majority of the people in his integrity and patriotism experienced not the slightest abatement.

The conduct of France towards the American republic continued to be a source of increasing trouble and vexation. Mr. Fauchet, the successor of Genet, bore, from those by whom he was deputed, the strongest assurances of friendship; but, encouraged and supported by a numerous party, ardently attached to his nation, he gradually assumed towards the administration the tone of remonstrance and reproach. He charged it with sentiments of hostility to the allies of the United States, with partiality for

their former foes, and urged the adoption of a course more favorable to the cause of liberty.

The American government was in fact desirous of fulfilling all its duties to France, and of conciliating her friendship. Mr. Morris, the minister to Paris, having incurred the displeasure of those in power, was recalled at their request, and his place supplied by Mr. Monroe, of Virginia. This gentleman was a republican, and had embraced with ardor the cause of the French republic. He was received in the most respectful manner by the convention, who decreed that the flags of the two republics, entwined together, should be suspended in the legislative hall, as a mark of their eternal union and friendship.

Mr. Adet was appointed, soon after, to succeed Mr. Fauchet. He brought with him the colors of France which he was instructed, by the convention, to present to the congress of the United States. They were received by the president with extraordinary ceremonies, transmitted to congress, and afterwards deposited in the national archives. In the house of representatives, a resolution was unanimously adopted, expressing the lively sensations which were excited by this testimony of the existing sympathy of the two republics, and their hope, that the brilliant and glorious victories of the French people would lead to the perfect establishment of their liberty and happiness.

But France required of the United States more than professions and hopes, and more than by treaty she was entitled to claim. She wished to make them a party in the war she was waging with the despots of Europe. Failing in this, and jealous of the more intimate relations contracted with her enemy, she adopted regulations highly injurious to American commerce, directing her cruisers to capture, in certain cases, the vessels of the United States. In consequence of these regulations, several hundreds, loaded with valuable cargoes, were, while prosecuting a lawful trade, taken, and the whole confiscated.

Believing that the rights of the nation were not asserted and vindicated with sufficient spirit by Mr. Monroe, the president recalled him, and Charles C. Pinkney, of South Carolina, was appointed in his stead. In the summer of 1796, he left the United States, instructed to use every effort, compatible with national honor, to restore the amicable relations which had once subsisted between the sister republics.

Among the chief actors in the French revolution, at its commencement, was General La Fayette. It was not his wish, however, to overthrow and destroy, but to reform. He soon found that he could not control the storm which he had assisted to raise; and, being known to be hostile to the infuriated leaders of the mob of Paris, they denounced him, while in command of an army on the frontiers; and he, to save his life, was obliged to throw himself into the power of the enemies of France. Hating him for his devotion to liberty more than they respected him for his love of order and humanity, they confined him, at first in the Prussian dungeons of Wesel and Magdeburgh, and then in the Austrian dungeon of Olmutz. Washington sent a private agent to Berlin to solicit his discharge; but, before his arrival there, he had been delivered over to the emperor of Germany. He then instructed the American minister at London to make known his wishes to the Austrian ambassador at that court; and, not hearing of his discharge, he addressed a letter, requesting it, to the emperor himself. All these efforts availed nothing. Equally unsuccessful was the daring and romantic attempt of two young gentlemen, Bollman, a Hanoverian, and Huger, of South Carolina, whose father he had visited when he first came to America, to restore him to freedom. They succeeded in liberating him from his dungeon; but he was immediately recaptured, and they were arrested and confined. He remained in prison until Bonaparte, after one of his splendid victories over Austria, demanded his release of the emperor, who

then discharged him, but pretended to do it to show his regard for the United States.

General Washington having, at the sacrifice of his own predilections, devoted a great portion of his life to his country; having successfully conducted its armies through an arduous conflict for existence; and having since directed its course through the most critical period of an experiment under a free constitution, — determined to retire to the enjoyment of domestic happiness and rural quiet. In September, he announced this determination to his fellow-citizens, and, feeling for them all the solicitude of a father for his children, he published, at the same time, a farewell address.

From long experience, he had acquired an intimate acquaintance with the dangers to which the liberties of the republic were exposed. These he deprecated, and warned his countrymen to shun, with all the impressive energy of conviction, and all the ardor of parental affection. He besought them, especially, to frown indignantly upon the first dawning of any attempt at a separation of the Union; to discard local attachments and sectional animosities; to guard against the excessive indulgence of the spirit of party, and against cherishing a hatred of particular nations, and an affection for others.

This address was read with sentiments of profound veneration in every part of the Union. Some of the state legislatures directed it to be inserted at large in their journals, and most of them passed resolutions expressing their respect for the author, their high sense of his exalted services, and the emotions with which they contemplated his retirement from office.

To fill the station from which the father of his country had resolved to retire, the two great political parties brought forward their chiefs. The federalists, desiring that the system of measures adopted by Washington should continue to be pursued, and dreading the influence of French sentiments and

principles, made the most active efforts to elect John Adams. The republicans, believing their opponents less friendly than themselves to the maxims of liberty, and too much devoted to the British nation and to British institutions, made equal exertions to elect Thomas Jefferson.

The result was the choice of Mr. Adams to be president, and Mr. Jefferson to be vice-president. Released from public cares, Washington hastened to Mount Vernon. Having established his fame as the greatest hero and most distinguished statesman of the age, he there, devoting his time to the cultivation of an extensive farm, added to his titles of renown that of the most industrious and intelligent agriculturist of his country.

CHAPTER XXIX.

MR. ADAMS'S ADMINISTRATION.

MR. ADAMS was inducted into office in March, 1797. Soon afterwards, he received from Mr. Pinkney despatches of a most disagreeable and alarming nature. The directory, then exercising the executive authority in France, had refused to accredit him, declaring their determination not to receive another minister from the United States, until they had fully complied with the demands which had been made. He was moreover ordered, by a written mandate, to quit the territories of the republic.

Congress were immediately convened, and the despatches laid before them. Their proceedings indicated a love of peace, but also a firm determination to yield to no unjust demand. Laws were passed authorizing the president, whenever he should deem it necessary, to detach eighty thousand men from the militia of the United States, providing for an increase

of the navy, and for augmenting the revenue of the nation. To display to France, and to the world, his desire of peace, and to leave no means unattempted to preserve it, the president resolved to institute another and more solemn mission. General Pinkney, John Marshall, and Elbridge Gerry, were accordingly appointed envoys to the French republic, and were instructed, as the first had before been, to seek a reconciliation as the representatives of a people dreading war much, but the sacrifice of honor more.

These also the directory refused to receive. They were, however, addressed by persons verbally instructed by Talleyrand, the minister of foreign relations, to make them proposals. In explicit terms, these unofficial agents demanded a large sum of money before any negotiation could be opened. To this insulting demand a decided negative was given. A compliance was, nevertheless, repeatedly urged, until, at length, the envoys refused to hold with them any further communication. After remaining several months at Paris, pressing in vain to be received and heard, two, who were federalists, were ordered to leave France; but Mr. Gerry, who was a republican, was permitted to remain, and was invited singly to enter into discussions relating to the commencement of a negotiation.

Information of these events reached the United States in the beginning of the year 1798, and excited general indignation. For a moment, the spirit of party appeared to be extinct. "Millions for defence, not a cent for tribute," resounded from every quarter of the Union. Congress were then in session, and immediately adopted such measures as the honor and safety of the country appeared to require. The president was authorized to direct the seizure, in certain cases, of armed French vessels; provision was made for augmenting the navy, for raising immediately a small regular army, and, in case events should render it expedient, for increasing it; a direct tax and additional internal duties were laid.

Upon the treaties with France, concluded in 1778, the new government of that nation founded claims for aid, which the United States denied to be just, and which, if granted, would have made them a party in the war. Fortunately for the latter, the former had often violated those treaties. Congress, therefore, referring to those violations in justification, declared that they were no longer to be considered obligatory upon the nation.

It was the avowed object of the new government of France, or rather of the party which had acquired the control of the nation, to disseminate their principles throughout the civilized world. Into every neighboring kingdom they sent emissaries and spies, who, wherever they went, succeeded in forming a French party, opposed to the existing government, and thus rendered the conquest of those kingdoms the more easy. That such emissaries were sent to this country was suspected and believed, especially by those who had no confidence in the capacity of the French people to appreciate the blessings of free institutions, nor in the sincerity of their professions of attachment to liberty. To guard against all possible evils from that source, an act was passed, at this session, authorizing the president "to order all such aliens as he should judge dangerous to the peace and safety of the United States, or should have reasonable ground to suspect were concerned in any treasonable or secret machinations against the government, to depart out of the country," and, upon their neglect to obey, to remove them by force. This act was loudly condemned by the opposition, and by most of the foreigners who had emigrated to America. It conferred, they alleged, arbitrary and unconstitutional power upon the president, which might be used to expel from the republic estimable men who had been induced to resort to it by their love of liberty.

One of the provisions of another law of this session, called the sedition law, was condemned, in still stronger terms, by the republican party. It provided

for the infliction of exemplary punishment upon the authors and publishers of false, scandalous, and malicious libels upon the president or members of congress. Although it allowed the accused to justify himself by proving the truth of any charge he had made, — thus softening the unjust rigor of the common law, — yet it was declared to be a restriction of the right of free discussion, and a violation of that clause of the constitution which prohibits congress from passing any law abridging the freedom of the press.

To command the army which congress had directed to be raised, the president, with the unanimous advice of the senate, appointed General Washington. He accepted the office, insisting, however, that he should not be obliged to leave his retirement until his presence in the field became necessary, and declaring that he would receive no emolument until he should be in a situation to incur expense. Upon his recommendation, Alexander Hamilton was appointed adjutant-general. In his letter of acceptance, he assured the president that “no man could more cordially approve the wise and prudent measures of his administration.”

No opportunity was presented of testing the courage and skill of the American troops. At sea, a well-contested action was fought between the American frigate *Constellation*, of thirty-eight guns and three hundred and nine men, commanded by Commodore Truxton, and the French frigate *Insurgente*, of forty guns and four hundred and nine men. The former, after an hour's conflict, was victorious. In a subsequent cruise, the *Constellation*, commanded by the same officer, met and engaged the French frigate *Vengeance*, of fifty-two guns and between four and five hundred men. The combat lasted from eight in the evening until near one in the morning, when the latter withdrew and escaped, having, as was afterwards ascertained, fifty of her men killed, and one hundred and ten wounded.

In the spring of 1800, the *Boston* captured the *Berceau*, of twenty-four guns. Nearly eighty small armed French vessels, mostly privateers, were also taken and brought into port. Not a single American vessel belonging to the national navy was captured, except the *Retaliation*, which, after being taken from the enemy, was recaptured. Of American merchant vessels, the captures were not so frequent after as before the commencement of hostilities.

The United States, in arms at home and victorious on the ocean, commanded the respect of their enemy. The directory made overtures of peace. The president, therefore, contrary to the wishes and advice of many of his political partisans, — whose early friendship for France had been changed to animosity by her insults and aggressions, and who expected, and perhaps hoped, that the Bourbons would be speedily restored by the coalition of kings then recently formed in Europe, — despatched a second embassy, consisting of three envoys, to Paris. Upon their arrival, they found the executive authority in the possession of Napoleon Bonaparte, as first consul. They were promptly accredited, and, in September, 1800, a treaty was concluded satisfactory to both countries.

While this negotiation was in progress, the whole American people were overshadowed with gloom, by the sudden death of the father of his country. On the 14th of December, 1799, after an illness of one day only, General Washington expired. Intelligence of this event, as it rapidly spread, produced spontaneous, deep, and unaffected grief, suspending every other thought, and absorbing every different feeling.

Congress, then in session at Philadelphia, immediately adjourned. On assembling the next day, the house of representatives resolved, "that the speaker's chair should be shrouded in black, and the members wear black during the session; and that a joint committee should be appointed to devise the most suitable manner of paying honor to the memory of the

MAN first in war, first in peace, and first in the hearts of his countrymen."

The senate, on this melancholy occasion, addressed a letter of condolence to the president of the United States. "This event," they observe, "so distressing to all our fellow-citizens, must be particularly heavy to you, who have long been associated with him in deeds of patriotism. Permit us, sir, to mingle our tears with yours. On this occasion it is manly to weep. To lose such a man, at such a crisis, is no common calamity to the world. Our country mourns a father. The almighty Disposer of human events has taken from us our greatest benefactor and ornament. It becomes us to submit with reverence to HIM who maketh darkness his pavilion.

"With patriotic pride we review the life of our WASHINGTON, and compare him with those of other countries who have been preëminent in fame. Ancient and modern names are diminished before him. Greatness and guilt have too often been allied; but his fame is whiter than it is brilliant. The destroyers of nations stood abashed at the majesty of his virtues. It reprovèd the intemperance of their ambition, and darkened the splendor of victory.

"Such was the man whom we deplore. Thanks to God, his glory is consummated. Washington yet lives on earth in his spotless example—his spirit is in heaven. Let his countrymen consecrate the memory of the heroic general, the patriotic statesman, and the virtuous sage: let them teach their children never to forget that the fruits of his labors, and of his example, *are their inheritance.*"

Agreeably to the report of the committee, and the unanimous resolves of congress, a funeral procession moved from the legislative hall to the German Lutheran church, where an oration was delivered by General Lee, a representative from Virginia. The procession was grand and solemn, the oration impressive and eloquent. Throughout the Union, similar marks of affliction were exhibited. A whole bereaved people

appeared in mourning. In every part of the republic, funeral orations were delivered, and the best talents of the nation were devoted to an expression of the nation's grief.

An incident has been passed over which rises into importance from its being an early practical assertion, by Great Britain, of a claim to a right of visiting American vessels, and impressing her own subjects when found on board of them—a claim which, being persisted in, and afterwards more frequently acted on, was a cause of war with that nation. In November, 1798, Captain Philips, commanding the sloop *Baltimore*, met, in the West Indies, a British squadron, consisting of three ships of the line and two frigates. The British commander gave him notice that he intended to take out of the *Baltimore* every one of her crew who had not regular protections, as certificates of American citizenship were called, and sent a lieutenant on board for that purpose. Captain Philips protested against this threatened outrage upon the American flag; but, perceiving himself completely in the power of the squadron, struck his colors, and told the lieutenant that the ship was at his disposal. Fifty-five of the crew were immediately removed from the *Baltimore*; but shortly afterwards fifty were returned, and the squadron departed carrying off the remaining five. Captain Philips, upon his return to the United States, gave to his government an account of the whole transaction. As he had evinced a want of spirit in making no resistance to the boarding officer, they immediately dismissed him from the navy, without trial; and the commanders of all American armed vessels were specially instructed to resist, to the utmost of their power, all attempts to impress any of their crews.

In pursuance of the law enacted in 1790, a place had been selected on the Potomac, a few miles above Mount Vernon, for the permanent seat of the national government. Within a district ten miles square,

which was called the District of Columbia, a city was laid out, to which the name of Washington was appropriately given. Public buildings having been erected, the officers of government removed to that place in 1800, and in November of that year, congress, for the first time, there commenced its session.

At this session, a bill was introduced to relieve the judges of the supreme court of the United States from performing the duties of circuit judges; dividing the Union into six circuits, and authorizing the appointment, in each circuit except the sixth, of three judges, to perform the duties from which the judges of the supreme court were relieved. In the sixth circuit, one judge only was to be appointed; and he, with two of the district judges then in office, was to constitute a circuit court. The bill was warmly opposed by the republican party as an unnecessary increase of offices, and as leading to an unwise extension of the action, if not the powers, of the national judiciary. It was, however, passed; and the sixteen additional judges were appointed and commissioned. A law was also enacted authorizing the president, whenever he should deem it expedient, to sell all the ships belonging to the navy except thirteen frigates.

At the close of the year 1800, a presidential election again recurred. From the time of the adoption of the constitution, the republican party had been constantly increasing, and the prospect of success now inspired its members with even unusual ardor. The candidates of the federalists were Mr. Adams and General Pinkney; of the republicans, Mr. Jefferson and Colonel Burr. In the federal party, a schism had taken place, arising from a quarrel between Mr. Adams and two of its most prominent members, General Hamilton and Mr. Pickering. These and their adherents were supposed to entertain even a stronger dislike to French politics, and to be more averse to intrusting much power with the people, than Mr. Adams and his particular friends; and this

difference of sentiment, although it did not impel them to abandon the party, had, aided by personal collisions, ripened into bitter hostility. Upon the eve of the election, General Hamilton addressed a private circular letter to many distinguished federalists, in various parts of the Union, in which he pointed out defects in the character of Mr. Adams, and intimated his preference for Mr. Pinkney. By the intrigues of Colonel Burr, a copy of this letter was obtained and published; and this doubtless diminished the zeal with which Mr. Adams was supported, and the general confidence in his election. The principal measures of his administration were also brought under review, and presented to the people as undoubted proof that he was unfriendly to liberty, and desirous of assimilating our government and institutions to those of Great Britain. No charge could have been made which would have been more readily listened to by a jealous people ardently devoted to freedom and passionately hating that nation; and some color of truth was given to it by his frankness in displaying his distrust of the happy result of the French revolution, in evincing his desire of preserving peace with Great Britain, and in the avowal of opinions that, for the maintenance of liberty and order, the government should be clothed with ample powers. His enthusiastic support of the American cause from the very beginning to the end of the revolution, his long experience, his talents and his virtues, were insufficient to secure his reelection. Mr. Jefferson and Colonel Burr, although they received a less number of the votes of the people, yet, in consequence of the provision of the constitution giving weight to three fifths of the slaves, they received a greater number of electoral votes; and as they received also an equal number, the choice of one of them to be president devolved upon the house of representatives. After thirty-five trials, during which the nation felt intense solicitude, Mr. Jefferson was chosen. Colonel Burr received

the votes of the federalists, and lost, in consequence, the confidence of his former friends. By the provisions of the constitution, he became, of course, vice-president.

CHAPTER XXX.

MR. JEFFERSON'S ADMINISTRATION.

By the recent election, the control of the government was transferred to the republican party. Between this and the federal party, the only points of real difference were, that the former entertained a higher opinion of the capacity of the people to govern themselves; and that they, in interpreting the constitution, sought to restrain, while their antagonists sought to enlarge, the powers of the general government. The great mass of both were doubtless sincerely attached to free institutions; and both contained the usual mixture of good and bad men, of patriotic and interested politicians. Local prejudices and interests were not without their influence in giving direction to the course and warmth to the zeal of the most active partisans.

Mr. Jefferson entered upon the duties of his office in March, 1801. To compose his cabinet, he appointed James Madison secretary of state, Albert Gallatin secretary of the treasury, Henry Dearborn secretary of war, Robert Smith, secretary of the navy, and Levi Lincoln attorney-general. He found most of the offices under the national government filled by federalists: it was natural that he and the men who elected him should wish that their friends should fill an equal portion; and he set the first example of a president removing men from office because their political opinions differed from his own.

By the frequent exercise of the power of removal for this cause alone, more strength must be given to the national government, and especially to the executive, — that branch which freemen should watch with most jealousy, — than by the most latitudinarian construction of the constitution which any federalist was ever disposed to give to it. He atoned, in some degree, for this error, by strictly enjoining all men in office, in a circular addressed to them, to abstain from mingling in the partisan conflicts of the time.

The new president came into office at a most fortunate juncture. The machinery of government, recently constructed, and even recently inverted, had been set in motion, been tried, and all domestic and foreign impediments to its free and regular action had been removed by his predecessors. The people were happy in the enjoyment of peace; and the importunate call of Europe in arms, for the products of their industry, animated them to efforts to increase those products, which few had ever equalled.

At the next session of congress, a bill was introduced to repeal the act passed at the preceding session establishing circuit courts. It was vigorously opposed by the federalists. They declared that congress could not pass it without violating the constitution. That provided that judges should hold their offices during good behavior; this bill, if passed, would deprive of their offices sixteen judges who had been constitutionally appointed. The belief that the additional judges were entirely unnecessary, and that the new offices were created solely for the purpose of rewarding political partisans, supplied the deficiency of arguments in favor of the constitutionality of the bill, and it was passed. At the same session, the internal duties, imposed at the time of the commencement of the war with France, were abolished.

A second census of the people, referring to 1800, was completed in 1801. They amounted to 5,319,762, having in ten years increased nearly 1,400,000. In

the same number of years the exports increased from *nineteen* to *ninety-four* millions, and the revenue from 4,771,000 to 12,945,000 dollars! This rapid advance in the career of prosperity has no parallel in the history of nations, and is to be attributed principally to the institutions of the country, which, securing equal privileges to all, give to the enterprise and industry of all free scope and full encouragement.

In 1802, the state of Ohio was admitted into the Union. It was formerly a portion of the North-western Territory, for the government of which, in 1787, an ordinance was passed, by the Continental congress. With commendable foresight, they provided that slavery, the source of weakness, of poverty, and of crime, should never exist in that extensive and fertile region. This is doubtless one of the causes of the unparalleled rapidity of its population. In thirty years from its first settlement, the number of its inhabitants exceeded half a million. The state of Tennessee, which was previously a part of North Carolina, and lies between that state and the River Mississippi, was admitted in 1796.

The right of deposit at New Orleans, conceded to the citizens of the United States by Spain, and necessary to the people of the western country, had, until this period, been freely enjoyed. In October, the chief officer of that city prohibited the exercise of it in future. This violation of a solemn engagement produced, throughout the states of Ohio and Kentucky, indignant clamor and violent commotion. In congress, a proposition was made to take possession, by force, of the whole province of Louisiana, and the injured people of the west were eager for permission to avenge their wrongs, and to regain their rights, by the sword.

A more pacific course was adopted. Knowing that the province had been ceded, although not transferred, to France, the president instituted a negotiation to

acquire it by purchase. In April, 1803, a treaty was concluded, conveying it to the United States for fifteen millions of dollars.

The territory thus added to the national domain, was first discovered by the French, who, in 1699, began a settlement within its limits. It continued a colony of that nation until 1762, when it was ceded to Spain. In her possession it remained, slowly increasing in population, until October, 1800, when it was retroceded to France, and by her was afterwards, as has been related, transferred to the United States. The inhabitants, a mixture of French and Spaniards, were not numerous. Its boundaries have never been defined. They embrace, at a moderate estimation, a territory more extensive than some of the most powerful European kingdoms; and in many parts the soil is exceedingly fertile. Its acquisition was considered, by the United States, of the greatest importance, as it gave them the entire control of a river which is one of the noblest in the world.

Since the year 1801, war had existed between the United States and Tripoli, one of the states of Barbary, situated on the coast of the Mediterranean. No memorable event occurred until 1803, when a large squadron, under the command of Commodore Preble, was despatched into that sea. On arriving before Tripoli, Captain Bainbridge, in the frigate *Philadelphia*, of forty-four guns, was sent into the harbor to reconnoitre. While in eager pursuit of a small vessel, he unfortunately advanced so far that the frigate grounded, and all attempts to remove her were in vain. The sea around her was immediately covered with Tripolitan gun-boats, and Captain Bainbridge was compelled to surrender. The officers were considered as prisoners of war; but the crew, according to the custom of Barbary, were treated as slaves.

At the capture of this frigate, the enemy rejoiced and exulted beyond measure. Lieutenant Stephen Decatur conceived the design of retaking or destroying her. Commodore Preble, applauding the spirit of

the youthful hero, granted him permission to make the attempt. In February, 1804, he sailed from Syracuse, in a small schooner, having on board but seventy-six men, entered undiscovered the harbor of Tripoli, and, advancing, boldly took a station alongside the frigate. Perceiving the crew in consternation, Decatur sprang on board; his men followed, and with drawn swords rushed upon the enemy. The decks were soon cleared, some being killed, and others driven into the sea.

A heavy cannonade upon the frigate, from the batteries on shore and the corsairs near, was now commenced, and several vessels of war were seen approaching. She was set on fire and abandoned, none of the party being killed, and but four wounded. Throughout all the piratical states, this brilliant exploit exalted the reputation of the American arms. The president, in reward of his address and bravery, promoted Lieutenant Decatur to the rank of post-captain in the navy.

While the squadron remained before Tripoli, other deeds of heroism were performed, evincing a love of fame and a devotion to country unsurpassed in Grecian or Roman story. The events and operations of this war shed a lustre upon the American name, gave experience and character to the officers, and prepared them to acquire greater glory in a contest with a nobler foe. They were equalled, however, by an enterprise on land, bold and romantic in its conception, and exhibiting, in its execution, uncommon address and decision of character.

William Eaton, who had been a captain in the American army, was, at the commencement of this war, consul at Tunis. He there became acquainted with Hamet Caramanly, whom a younger brother had excluded from the throne of Tripoli. With him he concerted an expedition against the reigning sovereign, and returned to the United States to obtain permission and the means to undertake it. Permission was granted, the coöperation of the squadron recom-

mended, and such pecuniary assistance as could be spared was afforded.

To raise an army in Egypt, and lead it to attack the usurper in his dominions, was the project which had been concerted. In the beginning of 1805, Eaton met Hamet at Alexandria, and was appointed general of his forces. On the 6th of March, at the head of a respectable body of mounted Arabs, and about seventy Christians, he set out for Tripoli. His route lay across a desert one thousand miles in extent. On his march, he encountered peril, fatigue, and suffering, the description of which would resemble the exaggerations of romance. On the 25th of April, having been fifty days on the march, he arrived before Derne, a Tripolitan city on the Mediterranean, and found in the harbor a part of the American squadron, destined to assist him. He learnt also that the usurper, having received notice of his approach, had raised a considerable army, and was then within a day's march of the city.

No time was therefore to be lost. The next morning he summoned the governor to surrender, who returned for answer, "My head or yours." The city was assaulted, and, after a contest of two hours and a half, possession gained. The Christians suffered severely, and the general was slightly wounded. Great exertions were immediately made to fortify the city. On the 8th of May, it was attacked by the Tripolitan army. Although ten times more numerous than Eaton's band, the assailants, after persisting four hours in the attempt, were compelled to retire. On the 10th of June, another battle was fought, in which the enemy were defeated. The next day, the American frigate *Constitution* arrived in the harbor, which so terrified the Tripolitans that they fled precipitately to the desert.

The frigate came, however, to arrest the operations of Eaton, in the midst of his brilliant and successful career. Alarmed at his progress, the reigning bashaw had offered terms of peace, which, being much more

favorable than had before been offered, were accepted by Mr. Lear, the authorized agent of the government. Sixty thousand dollars were given as a ransom for the unfortunate American prisoners, and an engagement was made to withdraw all support from Hamet. The nation, proud of the exploits of Eaton, regretted this diplomatic interference, but the treaty was ratified by the president and senate; and thus ended the war in the Mediterranean.

By the constitution, as first adopted, each of the presidential electors was required to vote for two persons, without designating which of the two he preferred for president. The one who received the highest number of votes was to be president; and he who received the next highest number, to be vice-president. If two persons received an equal and the highest number, the house of representatives were to choose one to be president; and the other was to become of course vice-president. This mode of voting, it was supposed, would prevent intrigue, and secure the election of suitable persons for both offices. At the last election, although the republican party and every republican elector preferred Mr. Jefferson for president, yet Mr. Burr received an equal number of votes, and the party incurred the hazard of having their choice defeated in the house of representatives. In 1803, an amendment of the constitution was proposed by congress, requiring the electors to designate the persons intended for president and for vice-president; and it was subsequently ratified by the requisite number of states.

Colonel Burr, having lost the confidence of the republican party, became, in 1804, a candidate for the office of governor of New York: the federalists generally gave him their votes, but Mr. Hamilton, considering him an unprincipled politician, openly opposed his election. The choice fell upon the rival candidate. A duel ensued between these distinguished individuals, the challenge proceeding from Burr. Hamilton was mortally wounded. This event produced a strong and

lively sensation throughout the Union. At the next presidential election, which occurred in the same year, Mr. Jefferson was elected president, and George Clinton, of New York, vice-president, the former receiving all but fourteen votes.

Burr, notwithstanding his brilliant talents, now sank, for a time, into merited obscurity. His future conduct showed, however, that, while unobserved by his fellow-citizens, he had not been idle. In the autumn of 1806, his movements in the western country attracted the notice of government. He had purchased and was building boats on the Ohio, and engaging men to descend that river. His declared purpose was to form a settlement on the banks of the Washita, in Louisiana; but the character of the man, the nature of his preparations, and the incautious disclosures of his associates, led to the suspicion that his true object was either to gain possession of New Orleans, and erect into a separate government the country watered by the Mississippi and its branches, or to invade, from the territories of the United States, the rich Spanish province of Mexico.

From the first moment of suspicion, he was closely watched by the agents of the government. At Natchez, while on his way to New Orleans, he was cited to appear before the supreme court of the Mississippi Territory. But he had so enveloped his projects in secrecy, that sufficient evidence to convict him could not be produced, and he was discharged. Hearing, however, that several persons, suspected of being his accomplices, had been arrested at New Orleans and elsewhere, he fled in disguise from Natchez, was apprehended on the Tombigbee, and conveyed a prisoner to Richmond. Two indictments were found against him, one charging him with treason against the United States, the other with preparing and commencing an expedition against the dominions of Spain.

In August, 1807, he was tried, upon those indictments, before John Marshall, the chief justice of the United States. Full evidence of his guilt not being

exhibited, he was acquitted by the jury. The people, however, believed him guilty; and, by their desertion and contempt, he was reduced to a condition of the most abject wretchedness. The ease with which his plans were defeated, demonstrated the strength of the government; and his fate will ever be an impressive warning to those who, in a free country, listen to the suggestions of criminal ambition.

The constitution gives to congress the general power to regulate commerce; but specially forbids it from passing any law, prior to the year 1808, to prohibit the importation of slaves into any of the states then existing which might think proper to admit them. In the exercise of its general power, it had, in 1794, subjected to forfeiture American vessels employed in the trade in slaves between one foreign port and another; and it had afterwards prohibited the importation of slaves into the territory of Mississippi. It had, in fact, done all it could do to put an end to the trade without violating the inhibition in the constitution. Early in March, 1807, before any other nation had prohibited the slave trade, and, as some thought, before congress could act on the subject, it interdicted, under very severe penalties, the importation of slaves into any of the United States, after the 1st day of January, 1808.

The wars produced by the French revolution continued to rage in Europe. The attempts, made by the neighboring kings, to compel republican France to resume her monarchical institutions, had not only been resisted and defeated by her indignant citizens, but they had followed home the repelled invaders of their country, and had subdued those who began the war with the hope and purpose of subduing France. The nation had necessarily become a nation of soldiers; and one, more daring and fortunate than the others, had been placed at their head as chief of the republic. By his extraordinary talents, and the vast means subjected to his single will, he acquired control over most of the European kingdoms.

England, however, unsubdued and undaunted, had become as preëminent on the water as France on the land. Her powerful navy drove every hostile navy from the ocean, and rode triumphant in every sea. America profited from the destruction of the ships and commerce of other nations. Being neutral, her vessels carried from port to port the productions of France and her dependent kingdoms, and also to the ports of those kingdoms the manufactures of England. Few ships were found on the ocean except those of the United States and Great Britain.

The latter, having always found it impossible to man her numerous fleets by voluntary enlistments, had been accustomed to resort to impressment, or seizing by force her subjects and compelling them to serve, as sailors, on board her ships-of-war. Soon after the peace of 1783, she claimed a right to search for and seize them, even on board of neutral vessels while traversing the ocean. In the exercise of this pretended right, citizens of the United States, sometimes by mistake and sometimes by design, were seized, dragged from their friends, transported to distant parts of the world, compelled to perform the degrading duty of British sailors, and to fight with nations at peace with their own. Against this outrage upon personal liberty and the rights of American citizens, Washington, Adams, and Jefferson, had remonstrated in vain. The abuse continued, and every year added to its enormity, until a feeling of resentment was aroused worthy the best period of the Roman republic.

But not in this mode only were the rights of the United States invaded, and their interests sacrificed on the ocean. In the war of 1756, between England and France, the former expelled nearly the whole mercantile navy of the latter from the ocean. France, therefore, not being able to carry on safely the trade with her colonies, which, by her colonial regulations, she had before reserved wholly to herself, admitted neutrals to participate in it. A vast amount of French property was thus withdrawn from the reach of Brit-

ish cruisers; and France sustained but little injury, and Great Britain derived but little benefit, from her vast naval superiority. Her government and courts, therefore, adopted and enforced a rule, which they pretended to deduce from some principle of the law of nations, and which has been denominated the rule of the war of 1756, that a neutral has no right, in time of war, to carry on a trade between a mother country and her colonies, which the former prohibits in time of peace. This rule was sustained by the plausible argument, that an enemy should not be permitted thus to elude one of the consequences of the superiority which her adversary, by her expenses and bravery, had acquired; and that a neutral could have no rightful claim to a commerce from which she would be forever excluded but for the successes of a belligerent—to a commerce, in fact, which one belligerent had conquered from another. Under color of this rule, a large number of American ships, carrying to Europe the produce of French colonies, were, in an early stage of the war and afterwards, captured by British cruisers, and condemned by her courts as lawful prizes.

But even this was not all. An unwarrantable extension was given to the belligerent right of blockading an enemy's ports. Hitherto it had been universally held that one belligerent blockading the ports of another, could not intercept the trade of a neutral with those ports unless a naval force, sufficient to render entrance into it manifestly dangerous, was stationed before it. In May, 1806, several European ports under the control of France were declared to be in a state of blockade, although not invested with a British fleet, and American vessels attempting to enter those ports were also captured and condemned—thus giving to a British edict the force of law on the ocean.

France and her allies suffered, as well as the United States, from these transgressions of the laws of nations. Her vengeance fell, not so much upon the belligerent inflicting the injury, as upon the neutral

enduring without resenting and repelling it. By a decree, issued at Berlin in November, 1806, the French emperor declared the British islands in a state of blockade, and of course authorized the capture of all neutral vessels attempting to trade with those islands. From these measures of both nations, the commerce of the United States severely suffered, and their merchants loudly demanded of the government redress and protection.

For several years, Mr. Monroe, as minister to Great Britain, had been endeavoring to effect an arrangement of the various subjects of controversy between the two nations—impressments, boundaries, blockades, and numerous violations of the rights of neutrals. In the spring of 1806, the president, to evince his earnest desire to adjust all disputes, appointed William Pinkney an associate with Mr. Monroe, and despatched him to London. Near the close of the year, these ministers concluded a treaty with British commissioners appointed to confer with them. It contained no provision on the subject of impressment; and, moreover, information of the Berlin decree having, before it was signed, been received in London, the British plenipotentiaries, on proceeding to sign it, addressed a note to the American ministers, in which they reserved to Great Britain the right to adopt countervailing regulations, should Bonaparte execute that decree, and neutrals submit to it. Mr. Jefferson, on receiving the treaty, decided at once that he would not give it his sanction, and, without submitting it to the senate for their consideration, instructed Messrs. Monroe and Pinkney to proceed in the negotiation. And they were explicitly directed not to conclude any treaty which did not provide against the practice of impressment, or which allowed Great Britain to treat neutrals as France might treat them.

Notwithstanding the French people had exchanged their republican for monarchical institutions, a preference for that nation over every other but their own

still lingered among the republicans of the United States. That her emperor, a child of the people, was combating and humbling the old despotisms of Europe; that he was warring with England, against whom they still felt a deep-rooted hostility, increased by her late aggressions,—may account for the hold which France still retained upon their sympathies. On the other hand, the federalists, seeing their prediction, that France would wade through blood to despotism, verified, and perceiving no reason why a French emperor should be preferred to a British king, still cherished a predilection for England. Each party regarded the aggressions of its favorite nation with indulgence, while loudly condemning those of the other as aggravated and unpardonable wrongs.

In June, 1807, an event occurred, which for a time concentrated upon one of the rival nations the whole weight of popular indignation. The frigate *Chesapeake*, while near the coast of the United States, and unsuspecting of danger, was fired upon from the *Leopard*, a British ship of superior force; three of her men were killed and eighteen wounded. Being unprepared for action, she struck her colors, was then boarded by a detachment from the *Leopard*, her crew mustered, and four of them forcibly carried off, upon the pretence that they were British deserters. The truth, upon investigation, was ascertained to be, that three of them were citizens of the United States, had been impressed by the British, and had afterwards escaped from their service.

This insolent attack upon a national ship—this wanton exercise of a claim derogatory to national honor—aroused the spirit of the republic. The distinctions of party were forgotten; numerous meetings of the citizens were held; and all concurred in the expression of a determination to support the government of their country in its efforts to obtain, whether by negotiation or war, satisfaction for this insulting outrage.

The president, by proclamation, prohibited all Brit-

ish ships-of-war from continuing in or entering the harbors of the United States. He sent instructions to the minister at London to demand satisfaction for the insult, and security against future aggression. He summoned congress to meet and decide what further measures should be adopted. The British government promptly disavowing the act of its officer, the hostile feelings which had been excited began to subside; but delaying to render satisfaction, and refusing to adopt adequate measures to prevent a continuance of aggression, they were not extinguished nor appeased.

Bonaparte having declared his purpose of enforcing with rigor the Berlin decree; the British government having solemnly asserted the right of search and impressment, and having intimated their intention to adopt measures in retaliation of the French decree,—the president recommended to congress that the seamen, ships, and merchandise, of the United States should be detained in port to preserve them from the dangers which threatened them on the ocean. A law laying an indefinite embargo was in consequence enacted. A hope to coerce the belligerent powers to return to the observance of the laws of nations, by depriving them of the benefits derived from the trade of America, was doubtless a concurring motive for passing the law.

A few days only had elapsed, when information was received, that Great Britain had prohibited neutrals, except upon the degrading condition of paying a tax or tribute to her, from trading with France or her allies, comprising nearly every maritime nation of Europe. This was followed, in a few weeks, by a decree issued by Bonaparte, at Milan, declaring that every neutral vessel, which should submit to be visited by a British ship, or to pay the tribute demanded, should be confiscated, if afterwards found in his ports, or taken by his cruisers. Thus, at the date of the embargo, were orders and decrees in existence ren-

dering liable to capture almost every American vessel sailing on the ocean.

In the New England States, the embargo, withholding the merchant from a career in which he had been highly prosperous, and in which he imagined that he might still be favored of fortune, occasioned discontent and clamor. The federalists, more numerous there than in any other part of the Union, pronounced it a measure unwise and oppressive. These representations, and the real and severe distress which the people endured, produced a rapid change in their political opinions. In a short time, a majority became federalists, and opposed with zeal all the measures of the government.

In the fall of 1808, a new election of chief magistrate took place. At the time of the adoption of the constitution, Mr. Jefferson had freely expressed his regret that it did not contain a provision that no person, having been once elected to that office, should afterwards be eligible. Washington, after reluctantly consenting, at the solicitation of the leading patriots of that time, to be a second time a candidate, had set the example of declining absolutely to serve as president more than two terms. Mr. Jefferson, now, following and confirming the example of Washington, announced his intention to retire to private life. James Madison was elected president, and George Clinton reelected vice-president.

The complaints against the embargo were listened to by the government, and, early in the year 1809, the law imposing it was repealed. In its place was substituted a law prohibiting all commercial intercourse with France and Great Britain: it contained, however, a provision that, if either nation should revoke her hostile edicts, and the president should announce that fact by proclamation, then the non-intercourse law should cease to be in force in regard to that nation. An opportunity was thus presented, equally to both, for either to resume all the advantages

of a free trade with the United States, and to secure their friendship, by repealing edicts admitted to be violations of the rights of neutrals, and only justified, if justified at all, by the illegal conduct of the adversary nation.

CHAPTER XXXI.

MR. MADISON'S ADMINISTRATION.

IN April, 1809, soon after Mr. Madison was inaugurated, Mr. Erskine, then the British minister at Washington, addressed a letter to the secretary of state, informing him that his government would be willing to withdraw their orders in council, so far as respected the United States, if the president would issue his proclamation for the renewal of intercourse with Great Britain. The secretary, in reply, assured Mr. Erskine that, should the orders be withdrawn, such a proclamation would be issued, in conformity with the act of non-intercourse. Mr. Erskine then stated to the secretary that he was authorized to declare that the orders would be withdrawn, as respected the United States, on the 10th day of the following June. The president accordingly declared, by proclamation, that the orders would be withdrawn on that day, and that the intercourse between the two countries might then be renewed.

Mr. Erskine was also instructed to propose terms of reparation for the attack on the Chesapeake. On the 7th of April, he addressed to Mr. Smith, the American secretary, a note stating that, in addition to the prompt disavowal of the conduct of the commander of the *Leopard*, whose recall, as a mark of the king's displeasure, immediately ensued, his majesty was willing to restore the men forcibly taken, and to make a suitable provision for the unfortunate sufferers

on that occasion. Mr. Smith, in reply, declared that "the president accepted the note, and would consider it, with the engagement in it, when fulfilled, as a satisfaction for the insult and injury;" unwisely adding the remark that, while the president forbore to insist on a further punishment of the offending officer, "he was not the less persuaded that it would best comport with what was due from his Britannic majesty to his own honor."

The arrangement in respect to the orders in council and the non-intercourse act was highly gratifying to the citizens of the United States. Having been, for some time, almost entirely excluded from the ocean, they rejoiced at the prospect of again enjoying the benefit of an extensive and profitable commerce. But intelligence soon came that the British ministry refused to ratify the arrangement, declaring that Mr. Erskine had no authority to make it. A second proclamation was thereupon issued, announcing that the non-intercourse act was still in force, and that all commercial intercourse with Great Britain was unlawful. This refusal revived and inflamed the animosity which had been previously felt against that nation; and the conduct of Mr. Jackson, the successor of Mr. Erskine, rendered the feeling still more intense. The British ministry were sorely offended by the concluding remark in the reply of Mr. Smith, accepting the proffered reparation for the attack on the Chesapeake; and their ambassador appeared to be well aware of the feelings of those who sent him. His correspondence with Mr. Smith was, throughout, arrogant in manner and offensive in tone. He stated to him that the mode in which the tender of reparation had been accepted, put it totally out of his majesty's power to ratify and confirm it; and when called upon to explain why an agreement, made with an accredited minister, and executed by the United States, had been disavowed, he assigned, as the reason, that it was entered into in violation of instructions, which instructions had been communicated to the secretary;

thus insinuating that the American government, when it concluded the arrangement, knew that Mr. Erskine had no authority to make it. This was distinctly denied by the secretary; but Mr. Jackson repeated the insinuation. He was immediately informed that no further communications would be received from him, and that an account of his conduct would be transmitted to his government.

It was one of the provisions of the non-intercourse act, that all French and British vessels which should, after the 20th of May, 1809, enter the ports of the United States, should be confiscated. Bonaparte, professing to consider this a hostile measure, issued, in retaliation, a decree at Rambouillet, directing that all American merchant vessels which had entered the ports of France, or of countries occupied by French troops, after that time, should be sold, and the proceeds deposited in the treasury.

The term for which the Bank of the United States was incorporated extended only to 1811. As early as 1808, the stockholders applied to congress to continue its existence for an additional term. This application was not definitely acted on until the session held in the winter of 1810-11. From its first establishment it had been under the management of federalists; much of its stock was now owned by British capitalists; setting aside its utility as an agent of the government, in collecting and disbursing the revenue, the benefits it directly and immediately conferred were enjoyed principally by merchants and manufacturers, always regarded with jealousy, if not envy, by other classes of people; the opinion that congress had not the power to create a corporation of any kind, was still entertained by many: the application, therefore, met with a warm and decided opposition, and was finally rejected, in the house of representatives, by a majority of a single vote. It must, of course, have received the support of a considerable number of republican members. Albert Gallatin, who was secretary of the treasury under Mr. Jefferson, and at this time in office,

was in favor of the renewal of the charter. He had been a witness to the fidelity with which all its duties to the government had been performed, and was convinced of its utility and safety. It immediately began to call in its debts and to pay its notes; and, that the people might not be deprived of the benefits of a circulating medium, a large number of banks, not less than forty, were incorporated by the state legislatures.

The non-intercourse law expired in May, 1810, when a proposition was made equally to both belligerents, that, if either would revoke its hostile edicts, that law should be revived and enforced against the other. In August, Bonaparte, by his minister of state, assured Mr. Armstrong, the American envoy to France, that the Berlin and Milan decrees were revoked, the revocation to take effect on the 1st day of November ensuing. Confiding in this assurance, the president, on the 2d day of November, issued his proclamation, declaring that all intercourse with Great Britain was prohibited, and that an unrestrained commerce with France was allowed.

Great Britain having expressed a willingness to repeal her orders whenever France should repeal her decrees, she was now called upon, by the American envoy, to fulfil her engagement. She objected that the French decrees could not be considered as repealed, a letter from the minister of state not being, for that purpose, a document of sufficient authority. In answer to this objection, proof was presented that the French admiralty courts considered them repealed, and that no American vessel, although many had entered the ports of France, had been subjected to their provisions. Great Britain, however, still persisted to enforce her orders.

For this purpose she had stationed ships-of-war before the principal harbors of the United States. All American merchantmen, departing or returning, were boarded, searched, and many of them sent to British ports as legal prizes. Impressments, too, were frequent, and the British officers, entertaining exalted

ideas of their naval strength, and holding in contempt the republican flag, exhibited, on all occasions, an extreme insolence of behavior, which was quite as efficient in widening the breach between the two countries as all the captures they had made.

In one instance, however, their insolence was deservedly punished. Commodore Rodgers, sailing in the frigate *President*, met, in the evening, a vessel on the coast of Virginia. He hailed, but, instead of receiving an answer, was hailed in turn, and a shot was fired which struck the mainmast of the *President*. The fire was instantly returned by the commodore, and continued for a few minutes, when, finding his antagonist was of inferior force, and that her guns were almost silenced, he desisted. On hailing again, an answer was given, that the ship was the British sloop-of-war *Little Belt*, of eighteen guns. Thirty-two of her men were killed and wounded, and the ship was much disabled.

Mr. Foster, successor to Mr. Jackson, arrived at Washington in the summer of 1811, and proposed terms of reparation for the attack on the Chesapeake. These were, a formal disavowal of the act, restoration to the frigate of the surviving sailors taken from it, a pecuniary provision for those who were wounded, and for the families of those who were killed. These terms were accepted by the president.

But the British envoy could give no assurance that his government was disposed to make a satisfactory arrangement of the subject of impressment, or to repeal the orders in council. These orders, on the contrary, continued to be enforced with rigor; and, on the restoration of a free commerce with France, a large number of American vessels, laden with rich cargoes, and destined to her ports, fell into the power of British cruisers. Such was now the state of affairs, that the United States suffered the evils of war, while Great Britain enjoyed the advantages. Her cruisers, since 1803, had captured nine hundred American vessels.

The patience of the nation was exhausted. President Madison, early in November, 1811, called con-

gress together, laid before them the state of foreign relations, and recommended that the republic should be placed in an attitude to maintain, by force, its wounded honor and essential interests. A majority of the representatives of the people, actuated by the feelings, and expressing the sentiments, of their constituents, determined to act in accordance with the recommendation of the president. Laws were enacted providing for the increase of the regular army to thirty-five thousand men; for the augmentation of the naval establishment; empowering the president to accept of the services of volunteers, to make a detachment from the militia, and to borrow eleven millions of dollars. It was the expectation of many that Great Britain, witnessing these serious preparations, would recede from the stand she had taken.

Events, however, occurred, while congress were in session, which considerably diminished this expectation. For several years, the Indian tribes residing near the remote lakes and the sources of the Mississippi, had displayed symptoms of hostility, murdering a number of whites and robbing others of their property. In the fall of 1811, General Harrison, with a small force, was sent into their territories, instructed to negotiate if possible, but to fight if necessary. On the 6th of November, he arrived at Tippecanoe, their principal town, where he was met by Indian messengers, with whom an agreement was made, that hostilities should not take place before the next morning, and that then an amicable conference should be held.

Just before daybreak, the savages, in violation of their engagement, made a sudden and furious attack upon the troops in their encampment. Nothing but the precaution of sleeping in order of battle, on their arms, saved them from total defeat. A dreadful slaughter was made; but the savages were finally repulsed, dispersed, and their town laid waste. A strong belief was entertained, founded upon credible testimony, that they had been incited to hostility by British agents stationed among them.

In February, 1812, John Henry, who had once re-

sided in Canada, communicated to the president the fact that, in 1809, he had been employed, by the governor of that province, upon a secret mission to Boston, the metropolis of the New England States; and that he was instructed to confer with the disaffected, upon the subject of a separation of those states from the Union, and their forming a political connection with Great Britain. He exhibited documents in support of his disclosures, which he was led to make by the neglect of his employer to reward him for his services. It did not appear that he had succeeded in corrupting the fidelity of any individual; but the attempt, in a time of peace, and in the midst of the most amicable professions, not only preserved in full force, but increased, the previous irritation.

Congress continued to be employed until the 20th of May in making preparations for war, still cherishing the hope that a change of policy in Europe would render unnecessary an appeal to arms. On that day, the *Hornet* arrived from London, bringing information that no prospect existed of a favorable change. On the 1st of June, the president sent a message to congress, recounting the wrongs received from Great Britain, and submitting the question whether the United States should continue to endure them, or resort to war.

In both branches, the message was received and considered with closed doors. In the house, it was referred to the committee of foreign relations, and, on the 3d, Mr. Calhoun, from that committee, made a long report, or manifesto, in which were eloquently set forth the various causes of war—the capture of American vessels engaged in the colonial trade; declaring ports not invested in a state of blockade; the orders in council of January and November, 1807; and the impressment of American seamen: “while this practice is continued,” remark the committee, “it is impossible for the United States to consider themselves an independent nation.” On the 4th, an act declaring war against Great Britain was passed, the

vote being seventy-nine to forty-nine, and sent to the senate. In that body it remained under consideration until the 17th, when it was there passed by a vote of nineteen to thirteen; and on the 18th it received the approbation of the president.

The measure was decidedly condemned by a considerable portion of the citizens, among whom were many honest and able men. Exercising the undoubted privilege of freemen, they examined, with the severest scrutiny, the measures and motives of the administration. They asserted that the war was unnecessary, partial, and unwise: that it was unnecessary, because, in their opinion, a satisfactory adjustment of all disputes might have been obtained by further negotiation: that it was partial, because France had given greater provocation, in proportion to her means of annoyance, than Great Britain: that it was unwise, because the nation was not prepared for war; because, by declaring it against almost the only remaining enemy of France, the United States indirectly but powerfully assisted Bonaparte in his design of universal conquest; and because the expenses and sufferings it must unavoidably occasion, would more than counterbalance all the advantages sought to be obtained. And many, passing the limits of candid and temperate discussion, indulged in a virulence of invective of which no government should be the object that is not manifestly corrupt.

CHAPTER XXXII.

CAMPAIGN OF 1812.

THE people of the United States remembered, with pride, the patriotism and bravery exhibited by their army in the revolutionary war. A long period of

peace and prosperity had increased their confidence in their own strength; and the belief was generally entertained, that victory over the same foe would now be so much the more certainly and easily gained, as the nation was more rich and populous. They did not reflect that peace had impaired the military energies of the republic, while their enemy, by constant exercise in arms, had acquired, not only additional strength, but greater skill to use and apply it.

From the veteran officers, who had acquired fame in the former conflict, a selection was made to fill the principal posts in the new army. Henry Dearborn, of Massachusetts, was appointed major-general and commander-in-chief. He was at the battle of Bunker's Hill. In the expedition against Quebec, he served as a captain under Arnold. He distinguished himself on these and other occasions; and at the close of the war bore the commission of colonel. He held, for a long time, the office of secretary of war, and discharged its duties with exemplary industry and skill. Thomas Pinkney, of South Carolina, was also appointed major-general. Among the brigadiers were Wilkinson, Hull, Hampton, and Bloomfield.

At the time of the declaration of war, General Hull was also governor of the Michigan territory, of which Detroit is the capital. On the 12th of July, with two thousand regulars and volunteers, he crossed the river dividing the United States from Canada. On the same day, he addressed a proclamation to the Canadians, tendering them the blessings of civil and religious liberty, and assuring them, in a lofty tone, "that his force was sufficient to break down all opposition," and yet was but the vanguard of one much greater. It appeared to be his purpose to attack Malden, and thence proceed to Montreal.

Had the attack been instantly made, success would have been highly probable. A month was wasted in ruinous delay. Distrust and contempt expelled confidence and attachment from the breasts of the Canadians. The ardor of the troops began to cool. Malden

was reënforced ; and at this critical moment, information was received that Mackinaw, an American post above Detroit, had surrendered to a large body of British and Indians, who were rushing down the river in numbers sufficient to overwhelm the American forces. Panic-struck, General Hull hastened back to Detroit.

Upon his arrival there, he received information of the unfortunate result of an expedition previously despatched to the River Raisin. Being apprized that Captain Brush, with a company of Ohio volunteers, had arrived at that place with supplies for the army, and knowing that the woods were filled with Indians, he had sent Major Vanhorne, with one hundred and fifty men, to escort him to Detroit. This detachment was surprised and attacked by a body of British and Indians, and defeated. About six hundred troops, under the command of Lieutenant-Colonel Miller, were now directed to proceed to the River Raisin for the same purpose. At Brownstown these were also attacked, and a sanguinary battle took place. Painted savages, filling the air with their hideous yells, and British regulars fighting by their side, were, for two hours, resisted by the American troops, and at length driven to the river, which they crossed to Malden. Of the enemy about one hundred and thirty, of the Americans about seventy-five, were killed or wounded. The next day, Colonel Miller was ordered to return to Detroit.

It was on the 8th of August that General Hull evacuated Canada. General Brock, the British commander, immediately left Malden at the head of a force superior in number to the Americans, but composed principally of militia and Indians, and drew nearer to Detroit. On the 13th, Colonels M'Arthur and Cass, with four hundred troops, were directed to proceed, on another route, to the River Raisin, and conduct the supplies to head-quarters. On the 14th, General Brock erected batteries opposite the city, and began a cannonade upon the American fortifications.

Expresses were sent out to recall M'Arthur and Cass, but were prevented from proceeding by numerous bodies of Indians. On the 16th, the British crossed the river, landing at Spring Wells, about three miles from the city. Meeting with no resistance, their commander resolved to march directly forward and assault the fort.

The troops, cool and undaunted, awaited in good order the approach of the enemy, anticipating an easy victory. To the astonishment of all, General Hull forbade the artillery to fire, and hung out a white flag in token of a wish to capitulate. A correspondence between the two generals was immediately opened, which ended in the surrender of the army and of the territory of Michigan.

It is impossible to describe the indignation of the soldiers and citizens, when they saw themselves delivered, by the authority of one man, into the power of an enemy whom they supposed they might easily have conquered. Many believed him either a traitor or coward. An event so disgraceful, occurring in a quarter where success was confidently anticipated, caused throughout the Union the greatest mortification and amazement. Stung by disappointment, all united in censuring General Hull. His greatest, perhaps his only fault, was want of decision and energy.

The people of Ohio and Kentucky were alarmed. Nearly ten thousand citizens made a tender of their services, and a part of them, placed under the command of General William H. Harrison, marched towards the territory of Michigan. But great and numerous were the difficulties encountered; the volunteers were unwilling to submit to the wholesome restraints of discipline; and winter arrived before any important undertaking could be accomplished. Several incursions were made into the country of the savages, who, instigated by British agents, and by a celebrated Indian prophet, and commanded by Tecumseh, a gallant warrior, had become almost universally hostile. Some of these incursions were suc-

cessful, some unfortunate ; but by the general result the frontier settlements were saved from savage attacks, and the numerous tribes of north-western Indians were disheartened, and driven farther into the wilderness.

For the purpose of invading Canada in another quarter, an army of regulars and militia were assembled on the northern frontier of New York. It was far less numerous than the government had anticipated. So happy was the condition of even the poorest class of American citizens, that but few could be induced to enlist as soldiers ; and in some of the states the plausible doctrine was maintained, that the officers of the general government have no power over the militia until called into service and consigned to their authority by the state executive, and that even then they cannot be compelled to march beyond the national boundary ; and some of the governors, when called upon to place their quotas of militia, or parts of it, under the orders of national officers, declined, for the reason that congress could only "provide for calling forth the militia to execute the laws of the Union, suppress insurrections, and repel invasions," and that neither of these exigencies then existed ; and, moreover, that the constitution reserved to the states the right of appointing the officers of the militia. The general government was thus deprived of a large amount of one species of force upon which it had relied to carry on the war.

General Van Rensselaer, of the New York militia, being the senior officer on that frontier, had the command of these troops, which were called the army of the centre. His head-quarters were at Lewistown, on the River Niagara, and on the opposite side was Queenstown, a fortified British post. The militia displaying great eagerness to be led against the enemy, the general determined to cross over to Queenstown. The first attempt was defeated by tempestuous weather. On the 13th of October, a party, led by Colonel Van Rensselaer, effected a landing, al-

though opposed by a British force stationed on the bank. The colonel was severely wounded; but the troops, under Captains Ogilvie and Wool, advanced to storm the fort. They gained possession; but, at the moment of success, General Brock arrived, from a neighboring post, with a reënforcement of six hundred men. These, although the most numerous, were gallantly driven back by the American troops. In attempting to rally them, General Brock was killed.

The commander-in-chief, who had previously crossed over, now returned to hasten the embarkation of the rear division. Those who had lately shown such eagerness to meet the enemy, now utterly refused to pass beyond the national boundary. He entreated and remonstrated, but in vain. Meanwhile the enemy, having received another reënforcement, advanced to attack the Americans in the fort. A desperate and bloody conflict ensued, of which the militia were calm spectators. In the end, the British were completely victorious. Of one thousand men who crossed into Canada, but few effected their escape. Of the American officers engaged in this conflict, besides those mentioned, Lieutenant-Colonels Scott and Christie were highly distinguished for their bravery.

Soon after, General Van Rensselaer retired from the service, and was succeeded by General Alexander Smyth, of Virginia. In a turgid address to the "men of New York," he announced that, in a few days, he should plant the American standard in Canada, and invited them to share in the danger and glory of the enterprise. His force was increased, by those who obeyed his call, to four thousand five hundred men. The morning of the 28th of November was assigned as the time for crossing. So tardy were the movements of the troops, that until afternoon the first division was not ready to leave the American shore. The enemy appeared in force on the opposite bank; a council of officers decided that it was inexpedient

at that time to cross; and the troops were ordered to debark. They were disappointed and dissatisfied; but their clamor was appeased by the assurance that another attempt would speedily be made.

The next day, they received orders to be in readiness to embark on the 1st of December. But their first disappointment had sensibly damped their ardor. At the appointed hour, the boats were not ready to move; and, when ready, but fifteen hundred men were found willing to cross. A council of war decided unanimously against proceeding, and again the troops were ordered to debark. The plan of invading Canada was abandoned for the season. The blame of these failures was attributed, by the soldiers, to their commander; and so highly were they exasperated, that, for several days, his life was in danger from their fury.

The army of the north, which was under the immediate command of General Dearborn, was stationed at Greenbush, near Albany, and at Plattsburgh, on Lake Champlain. From the latter post, a detachment marched a short distance into Canada, surprised a small body of British and Indians, and destroyed a considerable quantity of public stores. Other movements were anxiously expected by the people; but after the misfortunes at Detroit and Niagara, the general deemed it inexpedient to engage in any important enterprise.

Thus ended the campaign of 1812. Although, on many occasions, extraordinary gallantry had been displayed, yet nothing was accomplished, and the losses sustained were numerous and heavy. Those who approved of the declaration of war felt disappointed, mortified, and dejected. They attributed most of the misfortunes of the country to the conduct of the federalists, whom they accused of endeavoring to prevent enlistments into the army, and of maintaining the most pernicious doctrines in relation to the militia. The federalists, on the other hand, attributed these repeated failures to the imbecility of

the administration, and to the unwise selection of military officers. They assumed a bolder tone of censure, and evinced a more determined spirit of opposition.

But while, on land, defeat and disgrace attended the arms of the republic, on the ocean, where the injuries which led to the war had been inflicted, they gained a rich harvest of victory and glory. Upon the declaration of war, the American officers and seamen glowed with ardor to avenge the sufferings of their impressed fellow-citizens, and to vindicate the honor of the republican flag. Those ships-of-war which were ready for sea, immediately sailed in search of the enemy.

The first capture, however, of a ship-of-war was made by the enemy. The *Nautilus*, of fourteen guns, commanded by Lieutenant Crane, leaving New York early in July, fell in, the next day, with a squadron of English frigates, and, not succeeding in her attempts to escape, surrendered without a conflict. Soon after, the *Essex*, Captain Porter, of thirty-two guns, while sailing under the guise of a merchant vessel, was attacked by the *Alert*, of twenty guns. A tremendous and unexpected fire from the *Essex* frightened the British crew from the deck to the hold, and in eight minutes her flag was struck.

On the 19th of August, Captain Hull, who commanded the *Constitution*, of forty-four guns, descried a British frigate. His crew, giving three cheers, requested to be placed alongside of their antagonist. For three quarters of an hour, the latter endeavored, by skilful manœuvring, to obtain the advantage of position. Defeated in this, she advanced towards the *Constitution*, firing broadsides at intervals. When she had approached with half pistol shot, a tremendous cannonade burst upon her from the American frigate. In thirty minutes, every mast and nearly every spar being shot away, she struck her flag.

She was found to be the *Guerriere*, of thirty-eight guns, commanded by Captain Dacres. Of her crew,

fifty were killed, and sixty-four wounded. She had received so much injury that it was thought to be impossible to get her into port, and she was burned. The injury sustained by the Constitution was slight: of her crew, seven were killed and seven wounded. Although she carried a few more guns than her antagonist, yet the immense disparity of effect clearly demonstrated the superior skill of the American seamen. Captain Hull, on his return to the United States, was welcomed with enthusiasm by his grateful and admiring countrymen, who conferred upon him those honors and distinctions most dear to the patriot and hero.

But this was the first only of a series of naval victories. On the 18th of October, Captain Jones, in the *Wasp*, of eighteen guns, captured the *Frolic*, of twenty-two, after a bloody conflict of three quarters of an hour. In this action, the Americans obtained a victory over a force decidedly superior. On their part, but eight were killed and wounded; on that of the enemy, about eighty! On the 25th, the frigate *United States*, commanded by Captain Decatur, encountered and captured the British frigate *Macedonian*. The former carried a few guns the most, but the disparity of loss was astonishingly great. On the part of the enemy, a hundred and four were killed and wounded; on that of the Americans, but eleven! The *Wasp* was unfortunately captured, soon after her victory, by a British ship of the line; the *United States* brought her prize safely to New York.

A fourth naval battle was fought, and a fourth victory gained, on the 29th of December. On that day, the *Constitution*, of forty-four guns, then commanded by Captain Bainbridge, captured the British frigate *Java*, of thirty-eight. The combat continued more than three hours. The *Java* was reduced to a wreck: of her crew, one hundred and sixty-one were killed and wounded; of that of the *Constitution*, thirty-four.

These successive victories were peculiarly gratify-

ing to the nation; they were gained in the midst of disasters on land, and by that class of citizens whose rights had been violated; they were gained over a people claiming to be lords of the sea, whom long and continued success had rendered haughty and insolent, and who had confidently boasted that the whole American navy would soon be swept from the ocean.

Many British merchantmen were likewise captured by the American navy; and privateers, issuing from almost every port, and many of them bearing flags inscribed "Free Trade and Sailors' Rights," were remarkably successful. The number of prizes made during the first seven months of the war, exceeded five hundred. Many surrendered without resistance; but many were not captured until after conflicts distinguished by uncommon bravery and nautical skill.

Upon the great lakes, on our northern frontier, the United States were almost destitute of ships-of-war. On Lake Erie they had none; on Lake Ontario, where the enemy had six, all carrying eighty-two guns, they had only the *Oneida*, of sixteen. In October, Captain Chauncey arrived at Sacket's Harbor, instructed to form a navy on those waters. Committing the charge of Lake Erie to Lieutenant Elliot, he engaged with zeal in providing a naval force for Ontario. He purchased trading vessels, put guns on board of them, and before winter, with a squadron seven in number, but carrying only forty guns, ventured out in search of the enemy. He fell in with the *Royal George*, of twenty-two guns; but she escaped into the harbor of Kingston, and sought protection from batteries on the shore. The Americans boldly followed, and for half an hour poured upon her a destructive fire; but, night coming on, they were obliged to retire. In the course of their cruise, they captured two schooners and a sloop. On the 26th of November, a new ship, called the *Madison*, and pierced for twenty-four guns, was launched at

Sacket's Harbor, the timber of which, nine weeks before, was growing in the forest.

In the autumn of this year, the quadrennial period for the election of president and vice-president again recurred. The candidates for president were, the incumbent, James Madison, of Virginia, and De Witt Clinton, of New York; for vice-president, Elbridge Gerry, of Massachusetts, and Jared Ingersoll, of Pennsylvania. Those who were opposed to the war supported Mr. Clinton and Mr. Ingersoll; and they were joined by many who believed that, should the former be elected president, and should he find it impracticable to make an honorable peace, he would call forth the resources, and direct the arms of the republic, with more decision and energy. Great exertions were made by the partisans of the opposing candidates, and the passions of the people, especially in the Middle and Northern States, were highly excited. Of the electoral votes given, Mr. Madison received one hundred and twenty-eight, and Mr. Gerry one hundred and thirty-one, and were elected. Mr. Clinton received eighty-nine, and Mr. Ingersoll eighty-six.

CHAPTER XXXIII.

CAMPAIGN OF 1813.

AFTER a recess unusually short, congress met again on the 4th of November, 1812. In his opening message, the president adverted to the disaster at Detroit, commented with severity upon the employment of Indians by the enemy, and imputed to the latter all the blame of the atrocities committed; and he stated that to gain the command of the lakes, which he expected to secure by the success of General Hull,

active measures had been taken to provide on them a naval force superior to that of the enemy.

He also informed congress that, immediately after the declaration of war, he had communicated to the British government the terms on which its progress might be instantly arrested and negotiations resumed. These terms were, that the orders in council should be repealed, so far as they affected the United States, without the revival of blockades violating acknowledged rules; that all American seamen then on board of British ships should be discharged, and that a stop should be put to impressment from American vessels, giving the assurance that the United States would agree to a mutual stipulation that the seamen of each nation should be excluded from the vessels of the other. These terms were rejected by Great Britain.

It appeared also, from the message and the documents which accompanied it, that the French government had published a decree, bearing date April 28, 1811, repealing those of Berlin and Milan. This date was subsequent to that of the letter of the French minister, assuring Mr. Armstrong that they were revoked. Why, if a decree was necessary, the letter was written before one existed; why, if not necessary, it was passed; and why it was not sooner promulgated, are mysteries which have never been explained. In May, 1812, it was officially communicated to the British government; and they, on the 23d of June, revoked their orders in council, reserving, however, the right to revive and enforce them on certain contingencies. And it further appeared, that two propositions for an armistice had been received — one from the supreme authorities of Nova Scotia and Canada, the other from Admiral Warren, the chief naval officer on the American station. The former was rejected because it did not appear to have been authorized by the British government, and secured, moreover, to the enemy advantages which it denied to the United States; the latter, because, by accepting it, the United States would have conceded to Great

Britain, by implication at least, the right to continue the practice of impressment.

The rejection of these propositions was approved by the national representatives, who, unwilling to abandon any of the objects for which war had been declared, adopted more vigorous measures to prosecute it. The bounty and the wages of soldiers were increased. The president was authorized to raise twenty additional regiments of infantry, to issue treasury notes, and to borrow money. And the prejudice against a navy, which had grown up among those not interested in navigation, being conquered by its successful gallantry, appropriations were made for building four ships of the line, six frigates, and as many vessels of war on the great lakes as the public service might require.

So anxious were the citizens of the western country to regain possession of the territory of Michigan, that, in order to effect it, General Harrison resolved to undertake a winter campaign. General Winchester, with a portion of the army, proceeded in advance to the Rapids of the Miami, where he encamped. Hearing that the village of Frenchtown, on the River Raisin, was threatened by a party of British and Indians, he detached Colonels Lewis and Allen, with about five hundred men, to protect it. They found the enemy already there, attacked, defeated, and drove them into the woods.

After achieving this victory, they ought to have been recalled; but they encamped near the field of battle, a part of them being protected by a line of pickets; and in a few days General Winchester joined them with a few of his troops. Although near an enemy's post, but little precaution was taken to prevent a surprise. Early in the morning of the 22d of January, they were attacked by a large force of British and Indians, the former commanded by Colonel Proctor, the latter by the chiefs Roundhead and Splitlog. The troops in the open field were thrown into disorder. General Winchester and other officers made an in

effectual attempt to rally them. They fled, but, while attempting to escape, were mostly killed by the Indians. The general and Colonel Lewis were made prisoners.

The troops behind the pickets maintained the contest with undaunted bravery. At length Colonel Proctor assured General Winchester, that if the remainder of the Americans would immediately surrender, they should be protected from massacre; but otherwise he would set fire to the village, and would not be responsible for the conduct of the savages. Intimidated by this threat, General Winchester sent an order to the troops to surrender, which they obeyed.

Colonel Proctor, leaving the wounded without a guard, marched back immediately to Malden. The Indians accompanied them a few miles, but returned early the next morning. Deeds of horror followed. The wounded officers were dragged from the houses, killed and scalped in the streets; the buildings were set on fire; some, who attempted to escape, were forced back into the flames; others were put to death by the tomahawk, and left shockingly mangled in the highway. The infamy of this butchery should not fall upon the perpetrators alone. It must rest equally upon those who instigated them to hostility, by whose side they fought, who were able, and were bound by a solemn engagement, to restrain them. That they did not is the more indefensible, as General Harrison, always distinguished for his humanity, exerted himself, on all occasions and effectually, to restrain his exasperated soldiers, and the few Indians who had joined him, from committing acts of barbarity.

The battle and massacre at Frenchtown clothed Kentucky and Ohio in mourning. Many of their distinguished citizens, and many of their promising young men, there met death, but found not a grave. Other volunteers, indignant at the treachery and cruelty of their foes, hastened to the aid of Harrison. His army had been weakened, and his plan of the campaign deranged, by the proceedings of Winches-

ter, which were without his orders, and contrary to his views. Not waiting for reinforcements, he marched to the Rapids of the Miami, and there, near the river's bank, he fortified his camp, which he called Fort Meigs, in honor of the governor of Ohio. Near the last of June, it was invested by a large number of Indians, and by a party of British troops from Malden, the whole commanded by Colonel Proctor. On the 1st of May, a cannonade was opened upon the fort.

General Clay, at the head of twelve hundred Kentucky troops, arrived near the rapids on the morning of the 5th of May. He was met by a messenger from Harrison, who communicated to him his orders. Dividing his force into two parties, he sent one of them, consisting of about eight hundred men, under the command of Colonel Dudley, to attack the enemy's batteries on the side of the river opposite the fort; the other he led himself against those near to it. He succeeded, by the aid of a sally from the besieged, in fighting his way into the fort. Colonel Dudley, making an impetuous onset, drove the enemy from their works. His troops, supposing the victory complete, and disregarding the orders of their commander, dispersed into the woods. The enemy, meeting, in their flight, a large body of Indians coming to aid the besiegers, returned, and obtained an easy victory. About fifty were killed; a large number were made prisoners; some crossed the river to the fort; and others fled to the nearest settlements. The enemy sustained considerable loss.

The fort continued to be defended with bravery and skill. The Indians, unaccustomed to sieges, became weary and discontented. On the 8th of May, notwithstanding the entreaties of their chief, Tecumseh, they deserted their allies. On the 9th, the enemy, despairing of success, made a precipitate retreat. General Harrison, leaving General Clay in command, returned to Ohio for reinforcements; but in this quarter active operations were not resumed until a squad-

ron had been built and prepared for action on Lake Erie.

On the northern frontier of the United States, the British and American forces were stationed near to each other, the St. Lawrence only dividing them, and frequent conflicts between them, therefore, naturally took place. In the winter, small detachments were often sent across from Canada for the purpose of apprehending deserters. They found and arrested several, and, being in an enemy's country, committed depredations upon the houses and other property of the inhabitants. In the beginning of February, Major Forsythe, who commanded at Ogdensburgh, retaliated by conducting a force of about two hundred men into Canada, and attacking Elizabethtown. He surprised the guard, took more than fifty prisoners, released from confinement sixteen deserters, and returned, without the loss of a man, bringing with him public property of considerable value.

Soon after, movements in Canada indicated that an attack on Ogdensburgh was intended, and a small number of militia were called out to defend it. On the 21st, the place was attacked by ten or twelve hundred men, a much larger force than was expected. A brave resistance was made; but the enemy obtained possession, and destroyed or carried away public and private property of great value. The loss of the Americans, in killed and wounded, was about twenty; a larger number of the enemy suffered from the sure and steady aim of Forsythe's riflemen.

At Sacket's Harbor, on Lake Ontario, a body of troops had been assembled under the command of General Dearborn, and great exertions were made, by Commodore Chauncey, to build and equip a squadron, on that lake, sufficiently powerful to contend with that of the enemy. By the 25th of April, the naval preparations were so far completed that the general and seventeen hundred troops were conveyed across the lake to the attack of York, the capital of Upper Canada.

On the 27th, an advanced party, led by Brigadier-General Pike, who was born in a camp, and bred a soldier from his birth, landed, although opposed, at the water's edge, by a superior force. After a short but severe conflict, the enemy were driven to their fortifications. The rest of the troops having landed, the whole party pressed forward, carried the first battery by assault, and were moving towards the main works, when the enemy's magazine blew up, with a tremendous explosion, hurling upon the advancing troops immense quantities of stone and timber.

Numbers were killed; the gallant Pike received a mortal wound; the troops halted for a moment, but, recovering from the shock, again pressed forward, and soon gained possession of the town. Of the British troops, one hundred were killed, nearly three hundred were wounded, and the same number made prisoners. Of the Americans, three hundred and twenty were killed and wounded, and nearly all of them by the explosion of the magazine. The flag which waved over the fort was carried to the dying Pike; at his desire, it was placed under his head, when, with the smile of triumph on his lips, he expired.

Having attained the object of the expedition, the squadron and troops returned to Sacket's Harbor. The wounded and prisoners being landed, and other troops taken on board the ships, they sailed for Fort George, on the River Niagara, at the head of the lake. The troops, consisting of about four thousand men, were commanded by General Dearborn. In the morning of the 27th of April, the advance, led by Colonel Scott, and consisting of five hundred men, landed, and was immediately followed by the brigade commanded by General Boyd, then by those of Generals Winder and Chandler. The party led by Scott was exposed, on landing, to an incessant fire of musketry from twelve hundred regulars. It moved on without filtering; and, as soon as Boyd's brigade had formed on the shore, the enemy fled, some to the woods, and some into the fort. A panic seized the

garrison; trains were laid to the magazines, and the works deserted. The Americans took possession; and Captain Hindman, entering first, was fortunately able to remove the match before the fire had reached the powder. In a few hours, Fort George, Fort Erie, and the other fortifications in the vicinity, received new masters. The loss of the British was one hundred and eight killed, one hundred and sixty wounded, and six hundred prisoners; of the Americans, thirty-nine killed, and one hundred and eight wounded.

The remainder of the enemy retreated to the heights at the head of Burlington Bay. At his request, General Winder was detached in pursuit. Having ascertained, on his march, that the British had received reinforcements, he sent back for additional troops; and General Chandler was ordered to join him with his brigade. On the 5th of June, the two brigades, united, encamped on the bank of Stony Creek. The enemy, then a few miles distant, considering their case almost hopeless, resolved to turn upon their pursuers, and attack them in the night. The sentinels were silently bayoneted; the main guard, who must have been asleep, were passed; but fortunately the Indians, when they arrived near some fires just abandoned, where the troops had cooked their supper, raised their usual yell, supposing the Americans were sleeping around them. This awoke the troops, who, having slept on their arms, discharged their pieces at the enemy standing in the light of the fires which had deluded them. But they soon retired into the darkness, which was intense; and then no one knew where his enemy was, nor which was friend or foe. Several irregular conflicts took place, in which some were killed, and others wounded. General Chandler, intending to place himself at the head of his artillery, found himself in the midst of a British party, and was taken prisoner. A few minutes afterwards, General Winder made the same mistake, and fared no better. Satisfied with the capture of these officers and about a hundred other prisoners, the enemy made a precipitate retreat, losing,

however, more than they had gained. The American forces were recalled by General Dearborn to Fort George.

This misfortune was soon followed by another. Lieutenant-Colonel Boerstler, with about six hundred men, was sent to the Beaver Dams to disperse a body of the enemy stationed there to collect provisions and watch such of the Canadians as were friendly to the United States. He fell into an ambuscade, escaped, bravely fighting, to a position which he deemed safe, where he was surrounded and his whole party made prisoners.

While this portion of the American troops were thus employed in Canada, an attack was projected upon Sacket's Harbor, from which post they had been withdrawn, and where a large quantity of naval and military stores was deposited. On the 27th of May, the firing of alarm-guns, on board of vessels on the lake, gave notice of the approach of the enemy; and they were repeated on land, to call in the militia from the neighboring towns. On the 28th, the enemy's squadron appeared before the harbor, and, on the same day, General Brown, of the New York militia, repaired to the place, and assumed the command. By his orders, a slight breastwork was hastily thrown up, at the only place where the enemy could land. Behind this he placed the militia, and stationed the regulars, under Colonel Backus, a short distance in their rear. His whole force consisted of about a thousand men.

On the morning of the 29th, one thousand British troops landed from the squadron, and advanced towards the breastwork. The militia had been ordered to reserve their fire until the enemy should approach so near that every shot could hit its object. But they fired much sooner, and then fled in confusion. Colonel Mills, in a vain attempt to rally them, was mortally wounded. The regulars under Colonel Backus met and fought the enemy with spirit; and General Brown, collecting a few of the scattered

militia, fell upon their rear. In a short time, they retreated to their boats. Unfortunately, in the first part of the action, information was given to the commander of the navy-yard, that the Americans were defeated; and he immediately set fire to the barracks and store-houses, which were consumed. General Brown, as a reward for his services, was appointed a brigadier in the regular army.

For several months, no important event occurred on this frontier; but the troops on neither side were inactive. In a skirmish, on the 8th of July, on the Canada side, Lieutenant Eldridge, a gallant and accomplished youth, commanding thirty men, was hurried, by his impetuosity, into the midst of a body of British and Indians. Fighting bravely, most of them were killed: the lieutenant and ten others were made prisoners, and never afterwards heard of. The certainty that their fate was horrible, exasperated, to a high degree, the American troops and people; and the commanding general no longer hesitated to engage Indians in the service of the United States, stipulating, however, that they should spare the unresisting and defenceless.

On the 11th, two hundred of the enemy crossed the Niagara and attacked Black Rock; but were driven back, losing nine of their men and Colonel Bishop, their commander. On the 28th, Commodore Chauncey conveyed Colonel Scott, with three hundred men, to York, where provisions and public property of considerable value were destroyed or brought away, and a part of the troops, made prisoners at the Beaver Dams, were released.

On Lake Champlain, both parties began to construct a naval force; but several barges and two small cruisers were, as soon as built by the Americans, captured by the British. Becoming thus masters of the lake, they attacked Plattsburgh, then destitute of the means of defence, burnt the public buildings and several stores belonging to individuals, and carried off great quantities of private property. They also

attacked Swanton, in Vermont, where they committed similar devastations.

Meanwhile, upon the sea-coast, a distressing and predatory war was carried on, by large detachments from the powerful navy of Great Britain. One squadron, stationed in Delaware Bay, captured and burned every merchant vessel which came within its reach. The inhabitants of Lewiston, in the state of Delaware, having refused to sell provisions to the enemy, the village was bombarded, and several attempts were made to land, but they were defeated by the militia.

Early in the spring, another and more powerful squadron arrived in Chesapeake Bay. It was commanded by Admiral Cockburn, who, departing from the usual modes of honorable warfare, directed his efforts principally against unoffending citizens and peaceful villages. The farm-houses and gentlemen's seats near the shore were plundered, and the cattle driven away or wantonly slaughtered. Frenchtown, Havre de Grace, Fredericktown, and Georgetown were sacked and burned. Norfolk was saved from a similar fate by the determined bravery of a small force stationed on Craney Island, in the harbor. A furious attack was made upon Hampton, which, notwithstanding the gallant resistance of its small garrison, was captured, and the unfortunate inhabitants suffered all which a brutal and unrestrained soldiery could inflict.

The ocean, in the mean time, had been the theatre of sanguinary conflicts, in which the victors gained untarnished laurels. Captain Lawrence, in the sloop-of-war *Hornet*, discovering, in the neutral port of San Salvador, a British sloop-of-war of superior force, challenged her commander to meet him at sea. The challenge being declined, Captain Lawrence blockaded the port until forced by a ship of the line to retire.

Soon after, on the 23d of February, the *Hornet* met the British brig *Peacock*, of about equal force. A fierce combat ensued. In less than fifteen minutes,

the Peacock struck her colors, displaying, at the same time, a signal of distress. The victors hastened to the relief of the vanquished; and the same strength which had been exerted to conquer was now exerted to save. Their efforts were but partially successful. She sunk before all her crew could be removed, carrying down nine British seamen and three brave and generous Americans. In the battle, the loss of the *Hornet* was but one killed and two wounded; the *Peacock* had her captain and four men killed, and thirty-three wounded.

On his return to the United States, Captain Lawrence was appointed to the command of the frigate *Chesapeake*, of thirty-eight guns, then in the harbor of Boston. She had acquired the reputation of an unlucky ship—an important circumstance with seamen; her crew were ill assorted and disaffected, and among them was a Portuguese, the boatswain's mate, who was particularly troublesome. For several weeks, the British frigate *Shannon*, of equal force, but having a selected crew, had been cruising before the port; and Captain Broke, her commander, had announced his wish to meet and fight the *Chesapeake*. It is not known that this challenge came to the knowledge of Captain Lawrence; but on the 1st of June, as soon as the *Chesapeake* was ready, the *Shannon* being then in sight, she left the harbor.

Towards evening of the same day, they met and engaged with unexampled fury. The fire of both frigates was tremendous and skilful. In a few minutes, and in quick succession, the sailing-master of the *Chesapeake* was killed; Captain Lawrence and three lieutenants were severely wounded; the rigging was so cut to pieces that she fell on board the *Shannon*; her chest of arms blew up; Captain Lawrence received another and mortal wound, and was removed from the deck; and the boatswain's mate, followed by many others, ran below. At this instant, the *Chesapeake* was boarded from the *Shannon*, and, every officer above the rank of midshipman being killed or

wounded, her flag, in fifteen minutes after the commencement of the action, was struck by the enemy.

That fortune favored the Shannon cannot be doubted. That the event would have been the same had fortune favored neither, is rendered probable by the astonishing effect of her fire. This unexpected defeat impelled the Americans to seek for circumstances consoling to their pride; and in the journals of the day, many such were stated to have preceded and attended the action. But nothing could allay their grief at the fall of the youthful and intrepid Lawrence. His previous victory and magnanimous conduct had rendered him the favorite of the nation, and he was lamented with sorrow, deep, sincere, and lasting. When carried below, he was asked if the colors should be struck. "No," he replied, "they shall wave while I live." When the fate of the ship was decided, his proud spirit was broken. He became delirious from excess of mental and bodily suffering. Whenever able to speak, he would exclaim, "Don't give up the ship!"—an expression consecrated by his countrymen; and he uttered but few other words during the four days that he survived his defeat.

This victory was not achieved without loss. Of the crew of the Shannon, twenty-four were killed, and fifty-six wounded; of that of the Chesapeake, forty-eight were killed, and nearly one hundred wounded. Great was the exultation of the enemy. Victories over the frigates of other nations were occurrences too common to excite emotion; but the capture of an American frigate was considered a glorious epoch in the naval history of Great Britain. The honors and rewards bestowed upon Captain Broke were such as had never before been received but by the conqueror of a squadron. These demonstrations of triumph were inadvertent confessions of American superiority; and were, to the vanquished themselves, sources of triumph and consolation.

The next encounter at sea was between the American brig Argus and the British brig Pelican. The

latter was of superior force, and was victorious. Soon after, the American brig *Enterprise*, commanded by Lieutenant Burrows, captured the British brig *Boxer*, commanded by Captain Blyth. These vessels were of about equal force; but the greater effect of the fire of the *Enterprise* furnished to the Americans another proof of the superior skill of their seamen. Both commanders were killed in the action, and were buried, each by the other's side, in Portland.

The cruise of Captain Porter, in the frigate *Essex*, of thirty-two guns, which continued during the whole of this year, was distinguished for the boldness of its plan, and the bravery and perseverance displayed in the course of it. He left the United States in October, 1812, a few days after the departure of Commodore Bainbridge, in the *Constitution*, and was directed to seek him at several designated stations, on the eastern coast of South America. If he found him at either, he was to cruise under his orders; if not, he was left at liberty to act according to his discretion. On the 12th of December, after crossing the equator, he captured the British packet *Nocion*, of ten guns, having on board fifty-five thousand dollars in specie. On the 29th, he took a merchant vessel; and, learning that she had sailed in company with five others, he went in pursuit of them. Being thus delayed, he did not arrive at the last-designated station until Commodore Bainbridge, having captured the *Java*, had departed for home.

He now resolved to double Cape Horn, and cruise in the Pacific Ocean. He knew that the British had many whale ships in that sea, which might be captured, and the Americans many that ought to be protected. If successful, he could live upon the enemy; if he found no enemy, the funds he had already obtained would support him. In two months, after encountering tempests of unusual severity, he entered the harbor of Valparaiso, on the western coast of the continent. He there found an American whale ship, and learnt that many others were abroad

in the Pacific, at the mercy of those of the enemy, most of which were armed and commissioned as privateers.

Captain Porter immediately proceeded on his cruise. In a few days, he took a Peruvian privateer, and released two American vessels, which she, supposing that Spain, then dependent on England, had also declared war against the United States, had captured. In April, he took three prizes, and, with the means they afforded, in the midst of the Pacific, fitted up one of them as a cruiser, carrying sixteen guns, repaired his own ship, and replenished his stores. Continuing to cruise, he captured nine other vessels, some of which, not having men to put on board of them, he dismantled and restored; some he sent home; and others he fitted up as cruisers, thus increasing his own force to a respectable squadron. In the whole, he captured four thousand tons of shipping, and made nearly four hundred prisoners; and but for his presence in that sea, most of the American whale ships would have fallen into the power of the enemy.

In December, having learnt that the *Phebe*, of thirty-six guns, had been sent in pursuit of him, he repaired to Valparaiso, presuming he should there find his antagonist. She came soon after, but brought with her the *Cherub*, of twenty guns. These, with the *Essex* and *Essex Junior*, remained for some time at anchor in the harbor, in which, being a neutral port, the laws of nations forbade any conflict. The English ships then went to sea, and cruised for six weeks in the vicinity. During this time, Captain Porter made many efforts to bring on an action between the *Essex* and the *Phebe*; but the latter declined any contest unless aided by her consort. Being informed that other British ships were expected, he determined to make his escape. While sailing out of the harbor, a squall carried away his main topmast. Not being able, in the crippled state of his ship, to return to the common anchorage, he

placed her in another part of the harbor, where she was as much under the protection of the law of nations as before. Thus situated, the *Phebe* and *Cherub* approached, and attacked her. She returned their fire with spirit, and compelled them to retire and repair damages. Returning, they took a position where they could use their long guns, and the *Essex* only her carronades, the shot from which did not reach them. Captain Porter then bore down upon his antagonists, and, for a few minutes, the firing on both sides was tremendous. The slaughter on board the *Essex* was horrible. At one gun, fifteen men, or three entire crews, were killed or wounded. Yet the British ships bore away, to place themselves beyond the reach of her carronades, still keeping her within reach of their long guns. After attempting in vain to take a new position, and then to run his ship on shore, exposed all the time to the fire of the enemy, Captain Porter struck his flag. He would have been fully justified had he tempered his bravery with discretion, and surrendered at an earlier period of the battle.

The crew of the *Essex* consisted of two hundred and fifty-five men. Of these, fifty-eight were killed, sixty-six were wounded, and thirty-one were missing, the latter being drowned in attempting to swim to the shore. The *Phebe* and *Cherub* lost but five killed and ten wounded. The prisoners were sent home in the *Essex Junior*, and on their arrival were, without being exchanged, discharged from their parole by the assent of the British commissary of prisoners.

Not in public ships only was displayed the gallantry of American seamen. A large number of privateers were fitted out, seeking riches chiefly, but not unmindful of the glory of victory. Many were signally successful in capturing rich prizes; but the general belief that Providence blesses not wealth so acquired was strengthened by the quickness with which it vanished, having fixed upon its possessor habits of extravagance, and leaving behind it the love of pleasure which

could no longer be gratified. Sometimes, in their search for merchantmen, they met with hostile privateers, or public ships-of-war, and then they showed themselves worthy of the flag which waved over them. In August, the American privateer Decatur, mounting seven guns, and manned with one hundred and three men, fell in with the British schooner Dominica, of sixteen guns and eighty-three men. For two hours, the two ships continued manœuvring and firing, the Decatur seeking to board her antagonist, and she to escape. At length the former was placed in such position that a part of her crew passed, upon the bowsprit, into the stern of the latter. The firing, on both sides, from cannon and musketry, was now terrible. In a short time, the two ships came in contact, broadside to broadside, and then the remainder of the Decatur's crew rushed upon her enemy's deck. Fire-arms were thrown aside, and the men fought hand to hand, using cutlasses and throwing shot. Nearly all the officers of the Dominica being killed, her flag was hauled down by the conquerors. Of her crew of eighty-three, sixty were killed or wounded; of that of the Decatur, but nineteen. The next day, the latter captured a merchantman, laden with a valuable cargo, and conducted both prizes into the harbor of Charleston.

The blockade of our ports, the occupation of our harbors, and the depredations committed on our coasts, brought to recollection the invention of Bushnell, which had been unsuccessfully tried during the revolutionary war. It had received the name of *torpedo*. It was a strong metal globe containing powder, and being placed under a ship, and the powder ignited, which could be done in various ways, would blow it up. At the last session of congress, an act was passed declaring it lawful to use torpedoes, and offering to any one who should, by the use of them, destroy a British vessel, one half the value of it, as a reward. In July, several attempts were made by individuals to place one under the Plantagenet, a British ship of the line at anchor in Lynnhaven Bay.

All were frustrated by the vigilance of the sentinels; but, on the last trial, one was so placed as to explode near the ship. It threw up, to a great height, a column of water fifty feet in circumference. Much of it fell on the ship, which rolled into the chasm produced by the displacement of the water, and was nearly upset. Other attempts were made; and, although none were successful, yet the constant dread of the lurking danger compelled the enemy to be cautious in their movements, and in choosing their stations, and considerably diminished the efficiency of their naval force on our coasts. They, and even some of our own citizens, condemned, in strong terms, the use of these secret instruments of destruction, as dishonorable in war; but failed to show why it was more so than the resort to surprises, ambushes, and mines.

The events of the war again call our attention to the north-western frontier. While each nation was busily employed in equipping a squadron on Lake Erie, General Clay remained inactive at Fort Meigs. About the last of July, a large number of British and Indians appeared before the fort, hoping to entice the garrison to a general action in the field. After waiting a few days without succeeding, they decamped, and proceeded to Fort Stephenson, on the River Sandusky. This fort was little more than a picketing surrounded by a ditch; and the garrison consisted of but one hundred and sixty men, who were commanded by Major Croghan, a youth of twenty-one. On the 1st of August, it was invested by five hundred regulars and eight hundred Indians.

After a cannonade, which continued two days, the enemy, in the evening, supposing a breach had been made, advanced to assault the works. Anticipating this, Major Croghan had planted a six pounder, the only piece of cannon in the fort, in a position to enfilade the ditch. It was loaded with grape-shot and slugs, and was discharged the instant the assailants arrived before it. An incessant fire of musketry was also poured upon them by the soldiers

behind the pickets. The British commander and many of his men were killed, and many others severely wounded. The remainder, in haste and disorder, retreated to their former position, and at dawn of day retired to Malden. The youthful Croghan, for his valor and good conduct, was promoted to the rank of lieutenant-colonel. He and his brave companions received the thanks of congress; and, to evince their respect for his virtues, the ladies of Chillicothe presented to him an elegant sword.

In the mean time, by the exertions of Commodore Perry, an American squadron had been prepared for service on Lake Erie. It consisted of nine small vessels, all carrying fifty-four guns. A British squadron had also been built and equipped, under the superintendence of Commodore Barclay. It consisted of six vessels, mounting sixty-three guns.

Commodore Perry, immediately sailing, offered battle to his adversary. On the 10th of September, the British commander, having the wind in his favor, left the harbor of Malden, to accept the offer. In a few hours, the wind shifted, giving the Americans the advantage. Perry, forming the line of battle, hoisted his flag, on which were inscribed the words of the dying Lawrence — "Don't give up the ship." Loud huzzas from all the vessels proclaimed the animation with which this motto inspired their patriotic crews.

About noon, the firing commenced; but, the wind being light, the *Lawrence*, the commodore's flag ship, was the only American vessel that could, at first, engage in close action. For two hours, she contended alone with two vessels, each nearly her equal in force. All but seven of her crew were either killed or wounded; and she, by the damage she had received, was rendered wholly unmanageable. Leaving her, Commodore Perry, proceeding in an open boat through the midst of the fire, transferred his flag to the *Niagara*, which, the wind having increased, was approaching the enemy. Soon after, the colors of the *Lawrence* were struck; the British gave three cheers,

supposing the victory gained; and, for a few minutes, both parties ceased firing. The wind continuing to increase, Captain Perry made signal for close action. This order was received with three cheers, and was obeyed with alacrity. The Niagara was placed within half pistol shot of her antagonists, and the other vessels soon came to her assistance. The fire was incessant and tremendous; and the shrieks from the enemy proved that its effect was terrible. In twenty minutes, a cry was heard that the enemy had struck; and, when the smoke cleared away, an officer of one of the British ships was seen waving a white handkerchief. At four o'clock, the brave and fortunate Perry despatched to General Harrison this laconic epistle: "We have met the enemy and they are ours—two ships, two brigs, one schooner, and one sloop."

Great was the joy which this brilliant victory occasioned throughout the Union. That it was achieved over a superior force; that it was the first ever gained over a squadron; that it was entirely decisive; that it opened the way to the recovery of all that had been lost by the defeat of General Hull,—were circumstances which threw every other victory into the shade, and cast the brightest lustre upon the characters of the heroes who had gained it. At every place that he visited, the gallant Perry received the most flattering proofs of a nation's gratitude and love.

As soon as General Harrison, who had been joined by Governor Shelby with a large body of Kentucky militia, received intelligence of this victory, he hastened to the lake, and was conveyed by the vessels to Malden. The British commander, anticipating this movement, had abandoned that place, which, on the 28th of September, was occupied, without opposition, by the American army.

General Harrison soon set out in pursuit of the enemy, and was accompanied by Commodore Perry as his volunteer aid. He proceeded to Sandwich, and there learnt that his adversary was posted on the right

bank of the River Thames, about sixty miles distant. He hastened to that river, ascended it, and, on the 5th of October, came within view of the fugitives, then near the Moravian villages, and drawn up, across his line of march, in the woods. They amounted to about two thousand in number, of whom from one thousand to one thousand five hundred were Indians. His force consisted of rather more than three thousand men, mostly volunteer militia from Kentucky, commanded by Governor Shelby, one regiment of which was mounted, and led by Colonel Johnson. This regiment being drawn up in front, the order was given to advance upon the enemy's left, consisting of regular troops. On receiving their fire, the volunteers rushed to the charge with such impetuosity that a part of them broke through the British line, and then, wheeling round, poured a destructive fire upon their rear. In a few minutes, the victory over this wing was complete, with no other loss than three Americans wounded.

Upon the other wing, the battle was more furious and sanguinary. There the Indians commanded by Tecumseh were posted. They sprang to the attack with savage ferocity, and the first shock was bravely sustained by the opposing flank of the mounted infantry, where Colonel Johnson had stationed himself. The infantry on foot, outflanking those mounted, at first recoiled; but soon recovering, and Governor Shelby coming to their aid, the Indians fled. Of the enemy, nineteen whites were killed, fifty were wounded, and about six hundred, nearly the whole, made prisoners. Of the savages, one hundred and twenty were left dead on the field, of whom one was Tecumseh, the bravest, ablest, and most magnanimous of Indian chieftains. Among the trophies of victory were several cannons captured at Saratoga, surrendered at Detroit, and now recaptured. The American loss in killed and wounded was fifty.

The result of this victory was, the recovery of all the territory of the United States which had been

surrendered by General Hull, and peace with the numerous tribes of north-western Indians. General Harrison, leaving General Cass in command at Detroit, and permitting a portion of the volunteers to return home, again embarked, with the remainder of his troops, on board the vessels, and, on the 24th, arrived at Buffalo, thus increasing the strength of the army of the centre. Shortly afterwards, he returned to Ohio, and there continued to officiate as commander of the military district, embracing all the territory north-west of the river of that name.

Previous to the events just related, General Dearborn, in consequence of severe indisposition, was withdrawn from active service, and General Wilkinson appointed to command the army of the centre, which comprised about seven thousand men. Having received orders, from the secretary of war, to descend the St. Lawrence and attack Montreal, he directed the scattered detachments to assemble at Grenadier Island, on Lake Ontario. Such were the difficulties attending the concentration of the troops, and such, perhaps, the want of vigor in the commander, that the flotilla, upon which they embarked, did not get under way until the 5th of November.

Their progress was impeded by parties which the enemy, at every convenient position, had stationed on the Canada shore. To disperse these, a body of troops, under the command of General Brown, was landed, and directed to march in advance of the boats. At Chryster's Fields, on the 11th of November, a body of the enemy, of equal force, was encountered. In the battle which ensued, both fought with resolute bravery, and both claimed the victory. The loss of the Americans was greatest; but they drove the enemy from their position, and enabled the flotilla to pass unmolested.

The next day, it arrived at St. Regis. At this place, General Hampton, who commanded the troops at Plattsburgh, had been ordered to meet the main army, and no doubt had been entertained of his disposition

and ability to comply with the order. But here General Wilkinson, to his surprise and mortification, was informed that the contemplated junction would not take place. The project of attacking Montreal was abandoned, and the army under Wilkinson, marching to French Mills, there encamped for the winter.

This abortive issue of the campaign occasioned murmurs throughout the nation. The causes which led to it have never been fully developed. The severest censure fell upon General Armstrong, who was secretary of war, and upon General Hampton. The latter soon after resigned his commission in the army, and General Izard was selected to command the post at Plattsburgh.

But after the close of the campaign, disastrous events happened on the northern frontier. When the main army descended the St. Lawrence, to attack Montreal, an inadequate force was left in Fort George, under the command of General M'Clure. Receiving intelligence that the enemy were approaching him, he, on the 10th of December, removed the stores, destroyed the fort, and withdrew to the south side of the Niagara. He had been authorized to set fire to the village of Newark, situated near, should it become necessary in defending the fort when assaulted. Transcending, perhaps misconceiving, his orders, he, on leaving Canada, after giving notice to the inhabitants, set it on fire, and several buildings were consumed. This act was immediately disavowed and censured by the government.

Fort Niagara, on the south side of the river, was, at this time, garrisoned by about three hundred troops, under the command of Captain Leonard. Early in the morning of the 19th, the captain being culpably absent, a British party crossed the river, and entered the fort before the troops within it were aware of their approach. Sixty-five were killed, fifteen wounded, all by the bayonet; and the remainder made prisoners. Detachments were sent to Lewiston, Manchester, and Youngstown, where many

houses and much property were burnt and several people killed. On the 30th, another party landed at Black Rock, and marched to Buffalo, which was reduced to ashes. A large extent of frontier was made desolate, and many thousands of the inhabitants fled to distant places for safety, suffering, in their flight, at this inclement season, the extremity of wretchedness.

In the progress of our narrative, some events have been passed over which will now be related. In the early part of this year, the emperor of Russia offered his mediation to the two powers at war. On the part of the United States, the offer was promptly accepted, and Messrs. Adams, Gallatin, and Bayard, were appointed commissioners to negotiate, at St. Petersburg, a peace under the proffered mediation.

On the 24th of May, congress was convened by proclamation of the president. Laws were enacted imposing a direct tax of three millions of dollars; authorizing the collection of various internal duties; providing for a loan of seven and a half millions of dollars; and prohibiting the merchant vessels of the United States from sailing under British licenses. Near the close of the session, a committee, appointed to inquire into the subject, made a long report upon the spirit and manner in which the war had been conducted by the enemy. Many proofs were presented of shameful departures from the rules of warfare observed by civilized nations.

In September, Commodore Chauncey made two cruises upon Lake Ontario, and repeatedly offered battle to the enemy's squadron, which was superior in force; but Sir James Yeo, the British commander, intimidated by the result of the battle on Lake Erie, retired before him. On one occasion, however, in a running fight, his ships sustained considerable injury. In the same month, Captain Rodgers, commander of the frigate *President*, returned from a long cruise, in which he visited the north seas, and made a circuit around Ireland. He captured eleven merchantmen and an armed schooner; escaped from several ships

of the line; but had no opportunity of contending with any ship-of-war of less force.

The Indians at the southern extremity of the Union had imbibed the same hostile spirit as those at the north-western. They had been visited by Tecumseh, and, by his eloquence, persuaded, that the Great Spirit required them to unite and attempt the extirpation of the whites, and had promised them victory as the reward of their exertions. In the fall of 1812, a cruel war was carried on, by the Creeks and Seminoles, against the frontier inhabitants of Georgia. General Jackson, at the head of two thousand five hundred volunteers from Tennessee, marched into the country of the Indians. They, overawed by his presence, desisted for a time from hostility; but, after his return, their animosity burst forth with increased and fatal violence.

Dreading their cruelty, about three hundred men, women, and children, sought safety in Fort Mimms, in the Tensaw settlement. Although frequent warnings of an intended attack had been given them, yet, at noonday, on the 30th of August, they were surprised by a party of six hundred Indians, who with axes cut their way into the fort, and drove the people into the houses which it enclosed. To these they set fire. Many persons were burned, and many killed by the tomahawk. Only seventeen escaped to carry the horrid tidings to the neighboring stations.

The whites resolved on vengeance. Again General Jackson, at the head of three thousand five hundred militia of Tennessee, marched into the southern wilderness. A detachment under General Coffee encountering, at Tallushatchie, a body of Indians, a sanguinary conflict ensued. The latter fought with desperation, neither giving nor receiving quarter, until nearly every warrior had perished.

At Talladega, another battle was fought, in which three hundred Indians perished. The rest of the party, exceeding seven hundred, fled. General Jackson's provisions being exhausted, he was unable to

pursue them. While on his return to the settlements, to obtain a supply, his troops became refractory, and even mutinous. Nearly all returned to their homes; but to the small number that remained were soon added a reënforcement of one thousand mounted volunteers.

At the head of this force, he marched to Emuckfaw, within a bend of the Tallapoosa, where a body of the enemy were posted. To several skirmishes succeeded a general battle, in which the whites were victorious, but sustained considerable loss. For the relief of the wounded, Jackson returned to Fort Strother, where the volunteers were discharged. General White from East Tennessee, and General Floyd from Georgia, led separate expeditions against the Indians, and were victorious in every combat. So enraged were the savages, that but few would accept of quarter or seek safety in retreat.

Yet still was the spirit of the Creeks unsubdued, and their faith in victory unshaken. With no little sagacity and skill, they selected and fortified another position on the Tallapoosa, called by themselves Tohopeka, and by the whites Horse-shoe Bend. Here nearly a thousand warriors, animated with a fierce and determined resolution, were collected. Three thousand men, commanded by General Jackson, marched to attack this post. To prevent escape, a detachment, under General Coffee, encircled the Bend. The main body, keeping within it, advanced to the fortress. For a few minutes, the opposing forces were engaged, muzzle to muzzle, at the port-holes. Soon the troops, leaping over the walls, mingled with the savages. The combat was furious and sanguinary. The Indians, fleeing at length to the river, beheld the troops on the opposite bank. Returning, they fought with increased fury and desperation, and continued to resist until night. Six hundred warriors were killed; four only yielded themselves prisoners; the remaining three hundred escaped. Of

the whites, fifty-five were killed, and one hundred and forty-six wounded.

It was expected that another stand would be made, by the Indians, at a place called the Hickory Ground. General Jackson marched thither in April. The principal chiefs came out to meet him, and among them was Wetherford, a half-blood, distinguished equally for his talents and cruelty. "I am in your power," said he; "do with me what you please. I commanded at Fort Mimms. I have done the white people all the harm I could. I have fought them, and fought them bravely. There was a time when I had a choice; I have none now; even hope is ended. Once I could animate my warriors; but I cannot animate the dead. They can no longer hear my voice; their bones are at Tallushatchie, Talladega, Emucklaw, and Tohopeka. While there was a chance of success, I never supplicated peace; but my people are gone, and I now ask it for my nation and myself." Peace was concluded, and the brave General Jackson and his troops enjoyed an honorable but short repose.

CHAPTER XXXIV.

CAMPAIGN OF 1814, AND TERMINATION OF THE WAR.

It will be remembered that one of the causes, indeed the principal cause, of the war was the impressment of seamen from American ships. Great Britain founded her claim to exercise this practice upon a law of the old feudal system, once prevalent in most parts of Europe, that no person could ever release himself from the allegiance which by birth he owed to his immediate lord, and of course to the

sovereign of the country in which he was born ; and that he was liable to be seized by that sovereign wherever he might be found out of the territorial jurisdiction of any other nation. In exercising her pretended right, she paid no regard to the fact that her former subject had abandoned his native country, chosen another for his home, and been naturalized according to the laws there in force. Indeed, her officers, when they visited American ships in search of men, often impressed every one on board who could not prove by such evidence as they thought proper to require, that he was a native citizen of the United States. If he was such in fact, but had neglected to procure the proof, or had lost it, or if he was a native of some European kingdom, he was taken to fight the battles of Great Britain ; the American flag not being regarded as any protection to the men who sailed under it. The fact that nearly two thousand impressed American seamen were, after the beginning of the war, discharged from British ships, many of them, and perhaps all, after declaring their resolute determination not to fight against their own country, will give some idea of the extent to which this abuse was carried.

In some of the vessels taken by the enemy since the commencement of hostilities, were found seamen born within her dominions. These were detained, not as prisoners of war, but as British subjects, and were sent to England to be tried for high treason ; and twenty-three soldiers, who had been captured at Queenston, were treated in the same manner. The United States, owing their existence to immigration, holding themselves out as the asylum of the poor and oppressed of all nations, could not recognize the doctrine of barbarous and despotic ages, that no man could transfer his allegiance ; nor could they desert or neglect those to whom they had promised protection, and who had encountered peril in their service. By the orders of the government, therefore, the same number of British seamen and

soldiers were placed in strict confinement, and notice was given that if any of those sent to England for trial should be executed, the same number of those held in confinement would be put to death. Sir George Prevost, the commander-in-chief in Canada, then confined forty-six American officers and non-commissioned officers, and declared that their fate depended upon the fate of the British prisoners confined by the Americans. The Americans thereupon confined forty-six British, and Sir George Prevost forty-six other American officers.

At the session of congress held in the winter of 1813-14, the subjects of perpetual allegiance and of retaliation were brought before congress. The result of an earnest and able debate was, the determination of the government to maintain the position they had taken. Shortly afterwards, General Winder, one of the American officers confined in Canada, was permitted to return home on his parole, and the president granted the same indulgence to several of the British officers who had been confined; and, in process of time, all who had been imprisoned as hostages were released.

Suspicious, probably not entirely unfounded, were entertained that the numerous British vessels on our coast derived their supplies from our own merchants. Some of them, it was believed, cleared out their vessels for foreign friendly ports, and, in pursuance of previous arrangements, disposed of their cargoes to the enemy; or, submitting to be captured and sent to Halifax, or some other port of the enemy, there sold their goods for their own benefit. To prevent this, congress, upon the recommendation of the president, prohibited all exports from the country. As this put a stop to all honest commerce, the measure was virulently condemned by the merchants, and was exceedingly unpopular in the navigating states, especially in New England. Those who suffered from it denied that the instances of illegal traffic with the enemy were sufficiently numerous to justify

this harsh expedient, involving the innocent with the guilty; and they attributed it to the hostility of the administration to northern interests and to commerce generally. It engendered in the breasts of a large portion of the people engaged in navigation excessive bitterness of feeling, and excited almost to frenzy the passions of many.

By the strength of the opposition, and the want of pecuniary means, the government were greatly embarrassed in the prosecution of the war. Unfortunately, it was most unpopular in that portion of the Union where resources in men and money were most ample. But difficulties were felt only as incitements to greater activity and to sterner resolutions. To encourage enlistments, a bounty of one hundred and twenty-four dollars was offered to recruits, and the president was authorized to borrow twenty-five millions of dollars, and to issue treasury notes to the amount of five millions. Great difficulty was experienced in obtaining the money; and the treasury notes, when used as a circulating medium, passed at a considerable discount.

Before the termination of the session, a communication was received from the British government, declining to treat under the mediation of Russia, and proposing a direct negotiation at London or Gottenburgh. The proposition was accepted by the American government, who chose Gottenburgh as the place of meeting, for which Ghent was afterwards substituted; and Henry Clay and Jonathan Russell were joined with the commissioners already in Europe. Mr. Clay, in consequence, relinquished the station of speaker of the house of representatives, and was succeeded by Langdon Cheves, of South Carolina.

Early in the spring, the American army marched from French Mills; a part of the troops, under the command of General Wilkinson, proceeding to Plattsburgh, and the remainder, under General Brown, returning to Sacket's Harbor. Near the last of March, General Wilkinson penetrated into Canada, and at-

tacked a body of the enemy, occupying a large stone mill, on the River La Cole. He was repulsed with considerable loss. This defeat detracted from his already diminished reputation. He was removed from command, and General Izard appointed to succeed him.

For three months, the armies of both nations continued inactive. Meanwhile information was received of the stupendous events which had recently occurred in Europe. The emperor of France, having been arrested in his victorious career, and sustained defeat after defeat, was compelled to abdicate his throne, and retire to the Island of Elba. Louis XVIII. was proclaimed king; and Great Britain, at peace with all the world but the United States, was enabled to direct against them alone the immense force which had been employed to crush her rival. She delayed not to use the advantages afforded by her good fortune. From the ports of conquered France, ships-of-war and transports, bearing veteran and victorious troops, sailed to the American continent, some destined to the Niagara frontier, and some to the Atlantic coast.

These events could not be viewed with indifference by the American people. The friends of the administration anticipated a severer conflict, and prepared for greater sacrifices and greater sufferings. Its opposers were encouraged to make more vigorous efforts to wrest the reins of authority from men who, they asserted, had shown themselves incompetent to hold them. These efforts, although condemned by a great majority of the people, diminished in no slight degree the strength of the republic.

In the beginning of July, General Brown, who had been assiduously employed in disciplining his troops, crossed the Niagara, with three thousand men, and took possession, without opposition, of Fort Erie. In a strong position at Chippewa, a short distance above the falls, was intrenched an equal number of British troops, under the command of General

Riall. General Brown determined to approach their works and offer them battle. Early in the morning of the 4th, General Scott advanced with his brigade, and was followed by General Brown, General Ripley, with his brigade, the field artillery, and General Porter's volunteers. The army was drawn up, in regular order, within two miles of the enemy, and remained in that position until the next day.

Soon after sunrise, on the 5th, the British marched to attack the Americans. General Porter's volunteers were the first engaged: they sustained, for a time, the shock of troops superior in numbers and discipline, but ere long retreated; General Scott's brigade and Towson's artillery met the pursuing enemy on the plains of Chippewa, where a severe action took place; a daring movement made by Major Jessup, in the midst of a destructive fire, turned the scale in favor of the Americans; the enemy gave way, were hotly pursued, soon broke, and fled in disorder to their intrenchments. Their loss was five hundred and four; that of the Americans, three hundred and twenty-eight.

This decisive victory, in the first regular pitched battle of the war, achieved over a superior force, after so many reverses, diffused joy throughout the nation, and was hailed as an omen of future success. The troops showed, by their conduct, that they had essentially improved in all warlike qualities; and the officers engaged, particularly Scott, Jessup, Leavenworth, McNeil, and Towson, displayed bravery and skill which called forth the high commendation of the commander-in-chief. Soon afterwards, General Riall, abandoning his works, retired, at first to Queenston, and then to Burlington Heights. Brown followed him to Queenston, but afterwards fell back to Chippewa. Lieutenant-General Drummond, collecting all the troops in that region, joined General Riall, and the whole marched towards Chippewa. On the 25th, the two armies met at Bridgewater, near the Falls of Niagara, where was fought a desperate and most

bloody battle. It began late in the afternoon, and continued until midnight. The moon, though often obscured, at times shone brightly. The roar of the falls was silenced by the thunder of cannon and the din of arms, but was distinctly heard, mingled with the groans of the dying, during the pauses of the fight.

The action was a succession of engagements at different positions. Against a superior force, the Americans, for several hours, contended with various success. During the first part of the engagement, they were sorely annoyed, into whatever part of the field they might drive the enemy or be driven, by the British artillery stationed on a commanding eminence, near Lundy's Lane. "Can you storm that battery?" said General Ripley to Colonel Miller. "I'll try, sir," was the laconic answer. Giving the word of command to his men, they, with steady courage, ascended the hill, advanced to the muzzles of the cannon, killed with the bayonet several artillery-men on the point of firing their pieces, and drove the remainder before them.

Both parties were instantly reënfined, and the enemy made a daring effort to regain their cannon. They were repulsed, but quickly repeated the attempt. Nearly all the opposing forces gathered around this position; and to possess it was the sole object of both armies. Again the enemy were repulsed; but again they renewed the effort. After a violent conflict, they were a third time driven from the hill. The firing then ceased; the British troops were withdrawn; and the Americans were left in quiet possession of the field.

Generals Brown and Scott having both been severely wounded, the command devolved upon General Ripley. He remained a few hours upon the hill, collected the wounded, and then returned unmolested to the camp. The number of the killed and wounded proves the bravery of the combatants and the severity of the conflict. On the American side, it was seven

hundred and forty-three; on the British, one hundred less; and of the latter, one hundred and seventeen more were missing than of the former. The British, therefore, besides losing their position, sustained the greater loss of men; and yet they claimed the victory.

General Ripley found his force so much weakened, that he deemed it prudent again to occupy Fort Erie. It was not then in a defensible condition, but all the efforts in his power were applied to strengthen it. On the 4th of August, it was invested by General Drummond with five thousand troops. In defending it, no less bravery and skill were requisite, and no less were displayed, than in contending in the field. In the night between the 14th and 15th, the besiegers made an assault upon the fort, which was repelled with conspicuous gallantry by the garrison, the former losing more than nine hundred men, the latter but eighty-four.

The siege was still continued. On the 2d of September, General Brown, having recovered from his wounds, threw himself into the fort, and took command of the garrison. For their fate, great anxiety was felt by the nation, which was, however, in some degree, removed by the march from Plattsburgh of five thousand men to their relief. On the 17th, a sortie was made by the besieged, General Porter of the New York militia, and General Miller of the regular army, commanding divisions. The bravery of the troops equalled that which they had displayed in the recent contests. After an hour of close fighting, they returned to the fort, having destroyed a large part of the enemy's works, and killed, wounded, and taken one thousand of the enemy. Their loss was severe, amounting to more than five hundred.

On the 21st of September, the forty-ninth day of the siege, General Drummond withdrew his forces, relieving the garrison from their toil, which had been incessant, and from their danger, which had been encountered without fear. Seldom have troops deserved higher praise of their country. On the 9th

of October, General Izard arrived with the reënforcement from Plattsburgh, and, being senior officer, took the command. On the 18th, he marched, with his whole force, in pursuit of the enemy, whom he found at Chippewa, strongly posted in a fortified camp. After making several unsuccessful attempts to entice them into the field, he evacuated Canada, and placed his troops in winter quarters at Buffalo, Black Rock, and Batavia.

In July, the enemy took possession of Eastport, on Moose Island, in Maine, declaring that they considered it a part of the British dominions. Great Britain had formerly claimed it as such; but it had, by a board of commissioners, been adjudged to belong to the United States. On the 1st of September, between thirty and forty British vessels entered the mouth of the Penobscot, and took possession of Castine, claiming, as British territory, all the country east of that river, which Great Britain formerly contended was the true St. Croix. The expedition was conducted by the governor of Nova Scotia, who doubtless hoped that, whenever the war should close, this part of Maine would be retained by his sovereign. It had then been discovered that the only convenient route from Nova Scotia to Canada lay through the territory claimed. The United States frigate *Adams*, of twenty-eight guns, was then at Hampden, thirty miles above Castine, undergoing repairs. A detachment of the enemy, consisting of two armed vessels, a transport, and barges, ascended the river to capture her. A few of the militia of the neighborhood assembled to aid her crew in defending her; but, after a short skirmish, finding the force they were contending with superior to theirs, they spiked her guns, set her on fire, and fled. About fifty of the enemy were killed or wounded; on the American side, the loss was two, made prisoners.

The march of the troops from Plattsburgh having left that post almost defenceless, the enemy determined to attack it by land, and, at the same time, to attempt the destruction of the American flotilla on

Lake Champlain. On the 3d of September, Sir George Prevost, the governor-general of Canada, with an army of twelve thousand men, most of whom had served in the wars of Europe, entered the territories of the United States. As soon as his object was ascertained, Brigadier-General Macomb, the commander at Plattsburgh, called to his aid the militia of New York and Vermont, who, with alacrity and without distinction of party, obeyed the call.

On the 6th, the enemy arrived at Plattsburgh, which is situated near Lake Champlain, on the northerly bank of the small river Saranac. On their approach, the American troops, who were posted on the opposite bank, tore up the planks of the bridges, with which they formed slight breastworks, and prepared to dispute the passage of the stream. Several attempts to cross it were made by the enemy; but they were uniformly defeated. From this time until the 11th, the British army were employed in erecting batteries, while the American forces were every hour augmented by the arrival of volunteers and militia.

Early in the morning of that day, the British squadron, commanded by Commodore Downie, appeared off the harbor of Plattsburgh, where that of the United States, commanded by Commodore M'Donough, lay at anchor, prepared for battle. The former, consisting of sixteen vessels, carried one hundred and fifteen guns, and was manned with upwards of a thousand men; the latter, consisting of fourteen vessels, carried one hundred and two guns, and was manned with eight hundred and fifty men.

At nine o'clock the battle commenced. Seldom has the ocean witnessed a more furious encounter than now took place on the bosom of this transparent and peaceful lake. At the same moment, the enemy on land began a heavy cannonade upon the American lines, and attempted, at different places, to cross the Saranac. At a ford above the village the strife was hot and deadly. As often as the enemy advanced into the water, they received a destructive fire from

the militia; and their dead bodies floated down the stream, literally crimsoned with blood.

At half past eleven, the shout of victory, heard along the American lines, announced the result of the battle on the lake. A second British squadron had yielded to the prowess of American seamen. The cry animated to braver deeds their brethren on the land. Fainter became the efforts of the enemy. In the afternoon, they withdrew to their intrenchments. In the night, they began a precipitate retreat, and had fled eight miles before their departure was known in the American camp.

In the battle on the lake, the *Saratoga*, commanded by M'Donough, and carrying twenty-two guns, was opposed to the *Confiance*, commanded by Downie, and carrying thirty-seven guns. Few ships in any engagement ever suffered more than these. By the first discharge of the *Confiance*, about forty on board the *Saratoga* were killed or wounded. In an hour and a half, nearly all the guns of each, on the side next her antagonist, were disabled; and each attempted to veer, and bring her other guns to bear. M'Donough, presuming that he might wish to do so, had prepared for it, and succeeded; Downie failed; and, on receiving several broadsides from the fresh guns of the *Saratoga*, he struck his flag. Very soon afterwards, all the other vessels did the same; but several of the smallest afterwards escaped. The number of Americans killed and wounded was one hundred and ten; that of the British, about two hundred.

On land, the disproportion of loss was greater; but there, the numbers engaged being considered, the battle was not so bloody. The total loss of the Americans was one hundred and nineteen. How many of the enemy were killed and wounded has never been ascertained. Their whole loss in the expedition was estimated at twenty-five hundred; but in this number were included more than five hundred British soldiers, who, preferring to remain in America, deserted from the retreating army. With

these splendid victories closed the campaign on the northern frontier.

On the ocean, the republican flag maintained its high reputation. Victory was not always won; but defeat never occurred attended with dishonor. It was in this year that the *Essex*, as before related, surrendered to the *Phebe* and *Chernub*, whose united forces were much superior. In April, the American sloop *Frolic*, of eighteen guns, struck to the British frigate *Orpheus*, of thirty-six. In the same month, the American sloop *Peacock* captured the *Epervier*, mounting the same number of guns, but throwing less weight of shot by a few pounds at a broadside. The sloop *Wasp*, commanded by Captain Blakeley, captured the *Reindeer*, and afterwards, in the same cruise, sunk the *Avon*; the former of about equal, the latter of superior force. She made several other prizes, but never returned into port. Darkness rests upon her fate. The republic, with deep and sincere grief, mourned the loss of her gallant crew.

The people of the Middle and Southern States, anticipating a great augmentation of the enemy's force, and uncertain where the blow would fall, made exertions to place every exposed position in a posture of defence. The citizens of New York displayed extraordinary activity and zeal. Philadelphia and Baltimore were supposed to be in less danger; but additions were made to their fortifications. For the protection of Washington, a military district, embracing Maryland, Columbia, and a part of Virginia, was established, and the command of it given to General Winder, of Baltimore. One thousand regular troops were placed at his disposal, and he was authorized to call to his aid fifteen thousand militia.

In the beginning of August, the expected reinforcements, consisting of many vessels of war, and a large number of troops, arrived in the Chesapeake from Europe. Of this force several frigates and bomb vessels were ordered to ascend the Potomac; another division, under Sir Peter Parker, was directed to

threaten Baltimore; the main body ascended the Patuxent as far as Benedict, where, on the 19th of August, five thousand men, commanded by General Ross, were landed.

In the mean time, General Winder had called on the militia to repair to his standard. They were exceedingly remiss in obeying the call. On the 22d, not more than two thousand had assembled. At the head of these, and of one thousand regulars, he took a position not far from the enemy, intending to prevent their progress into the country.

A particular account of the subsequent events will not be attempted. General Ross, marching through a scattered population, advanced towards Washington. The Americans retired before him. A stand was made near Bladensburgh. The militia fled on the approach of danger; but a body of seamen and marines, commanded by Commodore Barney, not only maintained their ground, but compelled the enemy to give way. They rallied, however, immediately, outflanked the heroic band, put it to flight, and hastened forward.

The retreating forces were ordered to assemble on the heights near the capitol; and there they were joined by a body of Virginia militia. But General Winder, considering his force too weak to oppose effectual resistance, retreated to the heights of Georgetown. Washington, thus left defenceless, was deserted by most of the citizens.

On the 24th, at eight o'clock in the evening, the enemy entered the city, and, at nine, the capitol, president's house, and many other buildings, were set on fire. Valuable libraries, works of taste, and elegant specimens of the fine arts, were consigned to destruction. On the evening of the next day, the enemy left the city, and returned unmolested to Benedict; where, on the 30th, they embarked on board the transports. Their loss, during the incursion, including deserters, and such as died from fatigue on the march, exceeded eight hundred.

The capture of Washington reflected disgrace upon those by whom it ought to have been defended. The destruction of the national edifices attached a still darker stigma to the character of the enemy. The whole civilized world exclaimed against the act as a violation of the rules of modern warfare. The capitals of most of the European kingdoms had lately been in the power of an enemy; but in no instance had the conqueror been guilty of similar conduct. An indignant spirit pervaded the republic. The friends of the government were not only increased in number, but felt an additional motive to exert all their faculties to overcome the enemy of their country.

The squadron which, at the same time, ascended the Potomac, met with even less resistance than that which ascended the Patuxent. As soon as it arrived at Alexandria, the citizens proposed a capitulation; and the terms were speedily adjusted with the British commander. To purchase safety, they delivered up all their shipping, all the merchandise in the city, and all the naval and ordnance stores, public and private. With a fleet of prizes, loaded with a rich booty, the enemy returned immediately to the ocean.

The success of the attack on Washington encouraged General Ross to undertake an expedition against Baltimore. On the 12th of September, he landed five thousand men on North Point, about fourteen miles from the city, to which he directed his march. Preparations for defence had already been made. The whole of the militia had been called into the field; the aged and the rich had voluntarily entered the ranks; and assistance had been obtained from Pennsylvania and Virginia.

General Smith, who commanded the American forces, detached General Striker, with three thousand men, to retard the progress of the enemy. The advanced parties met about eight miles from the city. In the skirmish which ensued, General Ross was killed. The invaders, however, under the command of Colonel Brooke, continued to advance, and soon

met and attacked the detachment under Striker. One of the militia regiments gave way. This communicated a panic to the others, and the general fell back to the heights, where, behind breastworks hastily erected, the main body of the Americans awaited an attack.

After landing the troops at North Point, the British fleet had sailed up the Potomac, and bombarded Fort M'Henry and Fort Covington, which stand at the entrance into the harbor. The former was commanded by Major Armistead, the latter by Lieutenant Newcomb, of the navy. Both were gallantly defended; the fleet was repulsed; and the commander of the troops, finding that the naval force could afford no further assistance, retreated, on the 14th, to North Point, and the next day re-embarked. Soon after, the fleet left Chesapeake Bay, and part proceeded southward, to convey the troops to the theatre of future operations, and of unprecedented slaughter.

In the New England States, a majority of the people were, from the first, opposed to the war; and, as it restrained them from their most profitable pursuits, — commerce and the fisheries, — their dissatisfaction continued to increase. They complained that their peculiar interests were disregarded, and that the government, employing elsewhere the resources drawn from New England, did not afford them that protection to which, as a part of the nation, they were entitled. The most zealous, therefore, recommended that not only the militia, but the revenue, should be retained at home, and employed for their own defence and protection.

The general court of Massachusetts proposed that a convention of delegates, from the New England States, should assemble at Hartford to devise means to obtain redress of their grievances. To this proposition Connecticut and Rhode Island acceded. In December, the convention met, consisting of delegates from those states, appointed by their legislatures; of two from New Hampshire, and one from Vermont,

appointed at county meetings. Their sittings were secret. Upon their adjournment, they published an address to the people, in which, in bold and forcible language, they enumerated the measures of the national government supposed to be particularly detrimental to the interests of New England, and of the commercial class of the nation, and proposed such amendments to the constitution as would prevent, in future, the adoption of similar measures.

In the fall, congress were summoned to meet by the president. In his opening message, he stated that he had called them together that they might be ready to adopt measures adapted to peace, should peace be agreed on, which was possible, or to provide means for carrying on the war with redoubled energy, should Great Britain prefer to continue it. Of the progress of the negotiation he had received no intelligence; but he intimated that he expected no favorable result. In the adjustment of the affairs of Europe, by which her sovereigns had sought to restore to the continental nations an equilibrium of power, England had been left in possession of all her means of annoyance on the ocean; and she had exhibited, in her late conduct, a disposition to use those means, in carrying on the war against us, in a more barbarous manner, and with more desperate purposes, than had before been indicated. "Whatever," he observed, "may have inspired the enemy with these more violent purposes, congress can never deliberate but on the means most effectual for defeating them." A terrible struggle was approaching, and the country must prepare to meet it.

In justification of themselves for departing from the usual practice of civilized nations in carrying on war, by involving in its distresses quiet villages and citizens engaged in the arts of peace, the enemy offered reasons which justice to them requires should be stated. Under despotic and monarchical governments, despots and kings declared war whenever they thought proper, often for insults to themselves, and for other causes in which their people could feel no interest. In such

cases, the contest was understood to be between kings and despots; and they, and those who consented to be agents in carrying it on, should alone be made to suffer. In this case, the war was declared by a republic, in which the people governed; they chose the representatives who declared it; they participated in the act, and it was but just and right that they should also participate in all its evils.

On the 20th of October, despatches were received from the commissioners at Ghent, and immediately communicated to congress. They confirmed the worst anticipations of the president. Great Britain, rendered arrogant by her successes in Europe and at Washington, had demanded that the Indians in alliance with her during the war should be included in the pacification. This was in conformity with the wishes of the United States. But she demanded, further, that all the territory north-west of the line described in the treaty of Grenville, — which ran from the middle of Lake Erie south-westwardly to the Ohio, near the mouth of Kentucky River, and of course included a part of the state of Ohio, and all of Indiana, Illinois, and Michigan, — should be ceded and secured to them forever; both contracting parties engaging never to purchase any part of it. And she insisted that the United States should engage not to construct nor maintain any armed vessels on the lakes, any forts on their southern shores, nor on the southern shores of the river which connects them; and that they should also agree to such a variation of the northern and eastern boundary as would secure to Great Britain a communication between Quebec and Halifax. Her commissioners moreover intimated that, as the right to the fisheries, secured to the United States by the treaty of 1783, had been abrogated by the war, they must not expect to enjoy it hereafter without giving an equivalent for it. "We need hardly say," add the American commissioners, "that the demands of Great Britain will receive from us a unanimous and decided negative; and we have felt it our

duty to apprise you that there is not, at present, any hope of peace."

Congress shrunk not from the duty which this crisis imposed. Although the expenditures of the nation greatly exceeded the income, — although its finances were in disorder, and its credit was impaired, — yet the national legislature, with undaunted firmness, entered upon the task of furnishing the means to prosecute the war with increased vigor. The taxes were augmented, and new loans were authorized. The duties of secretary of war, from which post General Armstrong was removed, were assigned to Mr. Monroe; and those of secretary of the treasury to Mr. Dallas.

The repose of General Jackson, and of the troops whom he commanded, was interrupted by the arrival at Pensacola, in August, of three British ships-of-war, bringing three hundred soldiers, and arms and ammunition to be distributed among the Indians of Florida. The troops were permitted, by the Spaniards, to take possession of the fort, and the commander issued a proclamation, indicating an intention of carrying on war against the adjacent parts of the republic.

General Jackson, with characteristic promptness, took instant and efficient measures for calling to his aid the patriotic militia, who had before been victorious under his banners; and, having remonstrated in vain with the governor of Pensacola, for affording shelter and protection to the enemies of the United States, he, near the end of October, at the head of a body of regulars and two thousand mounted volunteers, marched against that place. A flag, sent to demand redress, was fired on from the batteries. He immediately marched into the city, stormed the fort, obtained entire possession, and compelled the British to evacuate Florida.

Returning to his head-quarters at Mobile, he there received intelligence that a powerful expedition was on the way to attack New Orleans. Without delay, he marched with his troops to that city. He found it in a state of confusion and alarm. The militia, com-

posed of men of all nations, was imperfectly organized. Many, feeling no attachment to the republic, had refused to enter the ranks. No fortifications existed on the various routes by which the place could be approached; and fears were entertained that the reinforcements of militia, which were expected from Kentucky and Tennessee, could not arrive in time to take part in the contest.

Undismayed by the difficulties which surrounded him, General Jackson adopted the most decided and efficient means for the safety of this rich and important city. He visited in person every exposed point, and designated the positions to be fortified. He mingled with the citizens, and infused into the greater part his own spirit and energy. By his presence and exhortations, they were animated to exertions of which before they were not supposed to be capable. All who could wield a spade, or carry a musket, were put to work upon the fortifications, or trained in the art of defending them.

The Mississippi, upon the east bank of which New Orleans stands, flows to the ocean in several channels. One, leaving the main stream above the city, runs east of it, and forms, in its course, Lake Ponchartrain and Lake Borgne. Early in December, the enemy entered this channel. Their whole force amounted to about eight thousand men, a part of whom had just left the shores of the Chesapeake, and the remainder had arrived directly from England. A small squadron of gun-boats, under Lieutenant Jones, was despatched to oppose their passage into the lake. These were met by a superior force, and, after a spirited conflict, in which the killed and wounded of the enemy exceeded the whole number of the Americans, they were compelled to surrender.

This disaster required the adoption, in the city, of more vigorous measures. Disaffection growing bolder, martial law was proclaimed; the authority of the civil magistrate was suspended; and arbitrary power was assumed and exercised by the commander-in-chief.

May no emergency hereafter occur, in which a military officer shall consider himself authorized to cite, as a precedent, this violation of the constitution.

On the 21st of December, four thousand militia arrived from Tennessee. On the 22d, the enemy, having previously landed, took a position near the main channel of the river, about eight miles below the city. In the evening of the 23d, General Jackson made a sudden and furious attack upon their camp. They were thrown into disorder; but they soon rallied, and fought with bravery equal to that of the assailants. Satisfied with the advantage first gained, he withdrew his troops, fortified a strong position four miles below New Orleans, and supported it by batteries erected on the west bank of the river.

On the 28th of December and 1st of January, vigorous but unsuccessful attacks were made upon these fortifications by the enemy. In the mean time, both armies had received reinforcements; and General Packenham, the British commander, resolved to exert all his strength in a combined attack upon the American positions on both sides of the river. With almost incredible industry, he caused a canal, leading from a creek emptying into Lake Borgne to the main channel of the Mississippi, to be dug, that he might remove a part of his boats and artillery to the latter. All things being prepared, the 8th of January was assigned for the assault.

In the night, a regiment was transported across the river, to storm the works on the western bank, and turn the guns on the American troops on the eastern. Early in the morning, the main body of the enemy, consisting of seven or eight thousand men, marched from their camp to the assault. While approaching, fearless and undaunted, showers of grape-shot thinned their ranks. When they came within musket-shot, a vivid stream of fire burst from the American lines. General Jackson having placed his troops in two ranks, those in the rear loaded for those in front, enabling them to fire with scarcely a moment's in-

termission. The militia of the west, trained from infancy to the use of the rifle, seldom took unsteady or uncertain aim. The plain was soon covered with dead and wounded. Some British regiments faltered and fell back ; but others advanced and presented new victims. While bravely leading to the walls the regiment which bore the ladders, General Pakenham was killed. In attempting to restore order and to rally the fugitives, General Gibbs, the second in command, was wounded mortally, and General Keene severely. Without officers to direct them, the troops first halted, then fell back, and soon fled in disorder to their camp. In little more than an hour, two thousand of the enemy were laid prostrate upon the field ; while of the Americans but seven were killed and six wounded — a disproportion of loss without a parallel in the annals of warfare.

The events of the day on the west side of the river present a striking instance of the uncertainty of warlike operations. There the Americans were thrice the number of the assailants, and were protected by intrenchments ; but they ingloriously fled. They were closely pursued, until the British party, receiving intelligence of the defeat of the main army, withdrew from pursuit and recrossed the river. They then returned, and resumed possession of their intrenchments.

General Lambert, upon whom the command of the British army had devolved, having lost all hope of success, prepared to return to his shipping. In his retreat he was not molested ; General Jackson wisely resolving to hazard nothing that he had gained, in attempting to gain still more.

In the midst of the rejoicings for this signal victory, a special messenger arrived from Europe, with a treaty of peace, which, in December, had been concluded at Ghent. The British government had receded from all their demands ; and as the orders in council had been repealed, and all motive for the impressment of seamen had ceased with the war in Europe, no stipulation, in relation to these subjects,

was inserted in the treaty, which provided merely for the restoration of peace and the revision of boundaries. The treaty was immediately ratified by the president and senate.

But the war still continued for a short time on the ocean. In the course of the winter, the frigate *President*, then commanded by Captain Decatur, and the sloops *Hornet* and *Peacock*, were directed to proceed from the harbor of New York, on a cruise to the East Indies. At this time, a British squadron, consisting of a *raze* and three frigates, was cruising before that harbor. Captain Decatur, in the hope that he might pass singly in the night, set sail on the evening of the 14th of January, leaving orders for the sloops to follow. At daylight the next morning, he was discovered and pursued by the whole squadron. At four o'clock in the afternoon, the *Endymion*, of forty guns, had approached so near that both began to fire. After the engagement had continued an hour, Captain Decatur, perceiving the other ships approaching, proposed to his crew to board the *Endymion*, and, having conquered her, to abandon their own ship and make their escape in the prize. The crew cheerfully assented; orders were given to lay the *President* by the side of her antagonist; but she, fearing the encounter, bore away, and continued the engagement at a safe distance. At eleven o'clock, the *Pomone* came up and joined in the action; soon after, the other vessels came within gun-shot; when Captain Decatur, perceiving not the slightest hope of victory or escape, struck his flag. In this long contest, eleven of the enemy were killed and fourteen wounded; of the Americans, twenty-four were killed and fifty-six wounded, many of them by the fire from the *Pomone*.

The *Hornet* and *Peacock* proceeded to sea without being discovered. Ignorant of the fate of the *President*, they sailed to the Island of *Tristan d'Acunha*, the appointed place of meeting. In sight of that island, the *Hornet*, commanded by Captain Biddle, met and engaged the sloop *Penguin*, of about equal

force. In twenty-two minutes, the latter struck. She had fourteen killed and eighteen wounded, and was so much damaged that Captain Biddle thought it inexpedient to send her home, and scuttled her. On board the *Hornet*, one was killed and ten wounded; and she received so little damage that, in two days, she was ready to proceed on her cruise.

On the 30th of June, the *Peacock*, then cruising in the Straits of Sunda, and her commander having no knowledge of the peace, fell in with the *Nautilus*, of fourteen guns. The two ships having exchanged broadsides, the latter struck. Of her crew, six were killed and eight wounded; of that of the *Peacock*, none were hurt. The next day, the American commander, having ascertained that peace had been concluded, and that the time prescribed for the cessation of hostilities had passed, gave up the *Nautilus*, and returned home.

In December, the frigate *Constitution*, then commanded by Captain Stewart, sailed from Boston, and, passing near Burmuda and Madeira, entered the Bay of Biscay. She cruised for a while on the coast of Portugal, where she made two prizes. On the 20th of February, she fell in with two ships-of-war, and, having ascertained that they were enemies, succeeded, by a series of manœuvres, which nautical men have highly applauded, and by rapid and effective firing whenever the positions of the several ships were favorable, in capturing both. They were the British ships *Cyane*, mounting thirty-four guns, and *Levant*, mounting twenty-one. In this cruise, the *Constitution* carried fifty-two guns; but she had more men than both of her antagonists. Of her crew, three were killed and twelve wounded; of the enemy, the number killed and wounded was estimated by Captain Stewart at about seventy; but they, in unofficial publications, stated it less. The *Levant* was recaptured; the *Constitution* and *Cyane* arrived safe in American ports.

CHAPTER XXXV.

MR. MADISON'S ADMINISTRATION.

THAT the United States had sufficient cause for the war just ended, few, if any, save zealous partisans, ever denied or doubted. Their commerce had been plundered on the ocean, and the sensibility and honor of the nation had been deeply wounded by outrages upon the liberty of its seamen. But many doubted whether, at the time, a war was expedient, or necessary for the vindication of the national honor. The state of the world appeared to them to extenuate conduct, which, indefensible at all times, seemed almost unavoidable in nations struggling for existence, and acting under the influence of passions which twenty years of war and commotion had implanted in every European bosom.

That, when the war was declared, the country had not been placed in a fit state of preparation for carrying it on, was then and afterwards charged against the administration of that time. And this was true. The treasury was empty; the army was neither numerous nor well disciplined; our fortifications were insufficient; and our navy comparatively weak. It may be said, however, as an apology for that administration, that from a state of open war we could suffer little more than from the war in disguise before carried on against us; that, whatever may be the dictates of policy, and whatever lessons experience and patriotism may have inculcated, it will always be difficult for the government of this country to make adequate preparation for a war, before it is declared, or to make strenuous efforts in carrying it on, until the people have been aroused by engaging in the conflict.

In consequence of this want of preparation, the first was, on land, a year of disasters; but it tried

the capacities of the officers, cast aside those who were unfit, and brought into view, and into action, talent which had before lain unperceived or dormant. The ferment in men's minds, before political, became military; gallant and skilful officers, spirited and disciplined soldiers, multiplied as the war progressed. Defeat produced the resolution to conquer; victory, the hope of other and more glorious victories. Before the war closed, the nation became convinced that it had nothing to fear from the want of military qualities in the people; the laurels of its heroes had covered every stain upon its fame.

The republic, therefore, came out of the war with higher respect for itself. In the midst of all its boasting, it had always been inwardly sensible that it stood low in the rank of nations. It smarted under ridicule, was elated by commendation, and fretted under the anticipation of neglect and contempt. There existed among the people an English feeling and a French feeling; not so strong, certainly, as to give controlling influence to either nation, but too strong to be compatible with a proper degree of self-reliance and self-respect. All this was now changed. The people had now something which they felt they could be proud of. Foreign partialities were smothered by a national feeling, which, as it gained in strength, imparted dignity to the national character.

It was a fortunate result of the war that it procured favor for the navy. Before, strong prejudices against it had grown up in the minds of many. Some believed that if we should build ships-of-war, England could easily capture them, and add them to her own navy; that we should, in fact, build them only for her: others, not interested in navigation, felt no solicitude for what afforded no protection to their plantations, farms, and firesides. Perhaps, as a navy had been a favorite of the first and second administrations, and of course condemned by the opposition, the party prejudices then implanted had not been wholly eradicated; and perhaps the English practice of impress-

ment had become too closely connected, in the minds of many, with the navy itself, to be separated from it. But the splendid victories of ours conquered and dissipated most of these prejudices. It was apparent that its success gained us respect abroad ; that it afforded protection, not only to our property, but to our fellow-citizens who had gone from among us to pursue legitimate employments profitable to themselves and highly beneficial to the nation ; that naval warfare did not cause such wide-spread devastation and extensive suffering as warfare on the land ; and that from naval forces no such danger to liberty could be apprehended as from a standing army and from the heroes it might produce.

The interruption of commerce by the embargo, non-intercourse, and war, diverted capital from that pursuit to manufactures. To them, moreover, attention had been, for some time, attracted by the republican party, in order to check the intercourse between this country and England, whence the greatest amount of manufactured articles was received, and to release the country from a state of dependence on foreign nations for the conveniences and necessities of life. During the war, the evils of this dependence were grievously felt. All kinds of cloths, especially those made of wool, were scarce ; the troops suffered for the want of clothing ; and the price paid for it was enormously high. Other manufactured articles, essential for national defence and for the comfort of the people, which had usually been obtained from abroad, were also scarce, and the price much enhanced. Many manufactories of such articles were consequently established ; and though the country was deficient in experience and skill, yet their owners, having the command of the home market, derived profit from their investments.

Of the evils experienced during the war, that which was most general was a derangement of the currency. It has already been mentioned that the charter of the Bank of the United States expired in 1811, that con-

gress refused to renew it, and that a multitude of state banks were incorporated to supply its place. These, yielding to the solicitations of borrowers, to the pleadings of their own love of gain, and being almost without restraint or regulation, emitted so many bills as to increase the circulating medium much beyond the amount necessary to carry on the business of the country — thus converting, by abuse, the greatest improvement of modern times, the substitution of paper for specie, into a temporary curse. When business diminished, the banks found it impossible to collect their debts, and could not, therefore, when called upon, pay their bills. In August, 1814, all of them south and west of New England suspended payments in specie. The government saw that the situation in which those banks had, without due forethought, and therefore culpably, placed themselves and the country, rendered this step unavoidable, and sanctioned it — for they could not do otherwise — by receiving and paying out their bills. This deferred the evil day at the south and west, but made the pressure heavier upon New England. She paid her taxes, duties, and debts, in specie or its equivalent; her remote sister states paid theirs in a currency ten or fifteen per cent. less valuable. Whatever may have been her political errors, her financial rectitude, adhered to in the midst of suffering and of the temptation of an opposite example, should be forever remembered to her honor.

During the session of congress which ended on the 3d of March, 1815, Mr. Dallas, the secretary of the treasury, in a letter to the committee of ways and means, after referring to the derangement of the currency, recommended, as the only efficient remedy, the incorporation of a national bank; which, while affording such remedy, would, in the opinion of the secretary, be a safe depository of the public treasure, and a constant auxiliary to the public credit. The committee reported a bill for that purpose, which, not being acceptable in its details, was rejected by the

casting vote of the speaker, Mr. Cheves. A bill, different in its details, was then introduced into the senate, passed by that body, and, after long debate, by the house of representatives, the vote being one hundred and twenty yeas to thirty-eight nays. Most of the small number that voted in the negative believed that congress did not possess the power to incorporate a national bank.

This bill was returned by the president with his objections. He waved the constitutional question, "that being, in his judgment, precluded by repeated recognitions of the validity of such an institution, in acts of the legislative, executive, and judicial branches of the government," and objected to the bill, because it did not appear to him to be calculated, in its details, to answer the purposes of reviving the public credit, of providing a national medium of circulation, and of aiding the treasury by loans. It required no bonus from the bank, nor imposed upon it the obligation to make loans to the government. On considering the president's objections, a majority of the senate voted to reject the bill.

Afterwards, another bill, for the same purpose, but different in its details, was introduced into the senate, and passed by that body. When under discussion in the house, peace having been concluded, Mr. Lowndes, a member from South Carolina, moved that it be indefinitely postponed. He did not make the motion, he observed, because he was opposed to a national bank; he was in favor of such an institution; but because the new state of things might require different provisions, and in the few days which yet remained of the session, the subject could not receive that consideration which was due to its importance. His motion prevailed by a majority of one vote.

Other proceedings of congress, which were passed over from a desire to give a connected narrative of the stirring events of the war, require to be noticed. The victories of which an account has been given

were not gained without strenuous efforts and immense expenditures. At the same time, the revenue of the country, derived from the usual sources, was greatly diminished; and the credit of the nation, having been too much and too often resorted to, was seriously impaired. But the war had become more popular, and even most of those who still condemned it, were impelled by their patriotism to take part with their country, and to lend their aid to defeat and chastise its enemies. Congress, therefore, dared to call upon the people themselves to contribute to replenish the treasury. Laws were passed imposing taxes on banks; on carriages and harnesses; on the distillation of spirits; on household furniture and watches; on domestic manufactures; on licenses to retailers; and on sales at auction. These internal duties were recommended by the secretary of the treasury, and he estimated their product, for the year 1815, at nearly 8,000,000 of dollars.

But this not being sufficient, a law was passed imposing a direct tax on lands and slaves of 6,000,000 of dollars; and permission was given to issue treasury notes to a large amount, by virtue of which more than 16,000,000 of dollars, in such notes, were actually issued. Furthermore, on the 15th of November, a loan was authorized of 3,000,000 of dollars; on the 21st of December, another of 6,000,000; on the 9th of January, another of 3,000,000; and, on the 3d of March, another of nearly 18,000,000 and a half. But some of these were temporary loans, and to be repaid out of the proceeds of the taxes imposed; and the last was receivable in treasury notes, which the government was unable to pay, and it therefore proposed to convert, in this way, that species of debt into a funded debt. From the year 1812 to the year 1815, both inclusive, the whole amount actually borrowed was \$46,920,811 12; the whole amount of treasury notes issued was \$26,207,965 79.

Immediately after the ratification of the treaty of peace, the subject of the reduction of the army was

brought before congress. At this time, it consisted of thirty-two thousand one hundred and sixty men, besides commissioned officers. Upon the question, what number should be retained, a debate arose of some length and animation. In the house, ten thousand was first proposed; but a majority decided in favor of six thousand. In the senate, fifteen thousand was the number preferred; the bill which finally passed fixed the number at ten thousand. A board of officers, consisting of Generals Brown, Jackson, Macomb, Gaines, and Ripley, were directed by the president to make a selection of officers and men to be retained; and, this duty being performed, the supernumeraries were discharged on the 15th day of the following June.

In regard to the navy, several laws were passed to adapt it to a state of peace. The president was authorized to cause all the armed vessels on the lakes except such as he might deem necessary to enforce the revenue laws, and also all the barges composing the flotilla establishment, and as many of the gun-boats as, in his opinion, could be spared, to be sold or laid up, they being first divested of their armament, tackle, and furniture. But no disposition was felt to diminish the force of the navy: on the contrary, at the close of the session, a special appropriation was made of 200,000 dollars annually, for three years, for the purchase and supply of every description of timber required for ship-building and other naval purposes.

In the year 1795, a treaty was concluded with the dey of Algiers, in which the United States stipulated to pay him as tribute, or for the privilege of navigating the Mediterranean, which the powers of Barbary claimed as their own sea, the value, in maritime stores, of twenty-one thousand six hundred dollars annually. Until the year 1812, this tribute had been paid to the entire satisfaction of the dey; and indeed, at that time, a small amount had been received in advance. In July of that year, the ship *Alleghany* arrived in the port, loaded with a quantity of stores,

to be delivered in fulfilment of the stipulations contained in the treaty. Pretending to be dissatisfied that no more powder, cables, or cordage had been sent, the dey, in a fit of real or counterfeit passion, declared that he would not receive any part of the cargo, and ordered the ship and consul to depart from his territories immediately.

The consul, Tobias Lear, fearful that, if war was unexpectedly declared, many American merchants would be captured, endeavored, by argument and expostulation, to pacify the dey; but he continued obstinate and furious. As his final determination, he demanded that the amount due should be paid immediately in cash; threatening, if it was not, to confine the consul in chains, confiscate the vessel and cargo, detain all Americans then in his dominions in slavery, and declare war against the United States. The consul proposed to sell the cargo to procure the money; but the dey forbade it. In adjusting the balance due, the dey insisted that the year should be computed according to the Mohammedan calendar, which allows to it but three hundred and fifty-four days, making a difference, including the whole time from the date of the treaty, of about eleven thousand dollars, and increasing the balance to twenty-seven thousand dollars. This sum Mr. Lear was obliged to borrow of a Jew, and to pay, for the use of it for thirty days, six thousand seven hundred and fifty dollars. He then, accompanied by all the Americans at Algiers, sailed in the *Alleghany* for Gibraltar. There the ship and cargo were detained and condemned by the British authorities, news of the declaration of war having been received at that place.

About a month afterwards, the brig *Edwin*, of Salem, was captured by an Algerine corsair, the captain and mate detained as prisoners, and the crew treated as slaves. A vessel sailing under the Spanish flag was seized and condemned as American property, and her commander detained in captivity as an American citizen. An effort was made to obtain the release of the

captives, and three thousand dollars were offered, by an agent whose connection with the American government was not disclosed, as a ransom for each; but the dey refused to part with them, upon the avowed policy of holding them, and all he could capture, as the means of compelling the United States to consent to a treaty more advantageous to him than the former.

During the war with England, American merchantmen were excluded from the Mediterranean, and peace or war with Algiers was a matter of indifference. Now it was important that they should be allowed to navigate that sea in safety. On the 23d of February, the president, by message to congress, recommended a declaration of war against Algiers. A law to that effect was immediately passed, and the president was authorized to despatch to the Mediterranean as many armed vessels as he should judge requisite to protect the commerce of the United States in that and the adjoining seas.

In all recent negotiations with Great Britain, the most difficult subject to arrange had been found to be the impressment of seamen from American ships. Claiming a right to the services, in time of war, of all her citizens, she justified her practice of searching there for them, by the allegation, that many British seamen were induced, by the offer of higher wages than they could elsewhere obtain, to serve on board of them. As well to encourage the increase of American seamen as to deprive Great Britain of such justification in future, the president presented to the consideration of congress the expediency of providing that American vessels should be hereafter navigated only by native or naturalized American seamen. The committees of both branches, to whom the message of the president was referred, reported that the subject was of too much importance to be hastily acted on; and, upon their recommendation, it was postponed to the next session.

The doctrine has been maintained by philosophers that war is the natural state of man. The history of

the world almost proves that it is the natural state of nations. Before civilization and Christianity had begun to exert their beneficent influences, the individuals of one nation considered those of every other as enemies at all times, and thought it lawful, and even praiseworthy, to do every thing possible to diminish the strength of the nations to which they belonged. The growth of one kingdom was viewed with apprehension and distrust by every other; and justly so viewed, for so active, so universal, and so predominant, were the belligerent passions, that the stronger invariably subjugated the weaker. The progress of civilization and Christianity did not prevent nations from continuing to regard each other with envy and distrust. Each strove to wrest from others, and to secure to itself, if it could, every privilege and advantage within its reach, not considering that their prosperity would be eventually reflected upon itself. One relic of this barbarous and exclusive spirit was the practice adhered to by every nation of imposing higher duties on foreign ships, and also on their cargoes, than on ships owned by its own people, and the goods imported in them. This, besides operating as a restraint upon industry, created and aggravated unfriendly feelings: a merchant, leaving his own country, found himself, not a welcome visitor, but invidiously treated, in the ports of every other. At this session of congress, a law was passed, in the house of representatives unanimously, repealing all discriminating duties, in regard to such nations as should pass a similar law. This was the commencement of a new era in the history of commerce, and perhaps in the history of the world. Should the example be followed by all other nations, as it already has been by many, wars must become much less frequent; for a powerful cause of irritation will be removed, and all nations will soon be led to feel that they are but parts of the one great family of man.

In the progress of the war, the state of Massachusetts, although she had, in the beginning, refused to call

out her militia on the requisition of the president, and to place them under officers of the regular army, yet, when threatened with an attack from the enemy, at a time when but few regular forces were stationed within her limits, called them out to protect her cities and coasts. Near the close of this session, a bill passed the senate providing for the settlement of the claims of such of the militia as had been in service, the terms of which embraced those called out by Massachusetts. In the house, the passage of this bill was vehemently resisted, by many members of the republican party, who had been ardent supporters of the war. Mr. Calhoun, Mr. Forsyth, and others, contended with warmth that to pay militia called out by a state after the same state had refused to call them out on the requisition of the president, would be to prostrate the general government at the feet of the state governments, deprive it of one of its highest sovereign powers, and leave it, in fact, without any sovereignty or vitality.

Mr. Eppes, (a republican,) Mr. Hulbert, and others, contended that all services rendered by the militia, to whatever portion of the Union they belonged, ought to be compensated; that Massachusetts, in protecting herself, had performed a national duty, and her expenses ought to be remunerated out of the national treasury. They did not consider the refusal of the state, when first called upon to perform a duty, in a mode and at a time pointed out by the president, a valid reason why, when she had performed it, although in her own way, she should not be paid. How much power over the militia had been granted by the constitution to the general government, and how much reserved to the states, were questions elaborately, but not calmly, discussed; for the feelings of both parties had been so much excited in relation to them, that they forced into the discussion topics altogether foreign from the constitutional question. Could some one, who had no belief in the pure patriotism of mere politicians, when listening to this debate, have caught a glimpse of futurity, he must have smiled derisively at

seeing how readily and heartily the defender of state rights and the advocate of consolidation could take his adversary's position and use his arguments, when party spirit, self-interest, or ambition prompted. The bill was not finally acted on during the session.

The case with which the enemy had captured the city of Washington was considered by many a valid reason for removing the seat of government to a place less exposed to attack, and where the surrounding population were numerous and brave enough to defend it. The house of representatives referred the subject to a committee, who reported that a removal was "inexpedient." Upon a motion to change the word to "expedient," the house was equally divided; but the speaker gave his casting vote in favor of the motion. Subsequently, when a bill, introduced for the purpose, was acted on, more members being present, a majority of nine voted against it. Congress then determined that the public buildings should be rebuilt or repaired; and near the close of the session appropriations were made for that purpose.

CHAPTER XXXVI.

MR. MADISON'S ADMINISTRATION.

THE change from war to peace was sudden and unexpected. The country generally welcomed it with joy. On many individuals, as all sudden changes ever do, it brought immediate ruin; and it made gloomy the prospects of others. With a facility characteristic of the American people, the great mass of them instantly engaged in the various pursuits from which, in the new state of things, they anticipated profit. The disbanded soldier returned to the workshop or the plough; the fisherman rushed to the Banks, and the

merchant to the ocean. Departing ships bore away products of American industry which had, for years, been accumulating, and returning ships brought to our ports the manufactures of Europe for which long abstinence had increased the desire.

That class whose prospects the return of peace had made gloomy were the manufacturers. Driven from other pursuits, allured by high prices, and influenced, doubtless, by calls upon their patriotism, to which, in times of excitement, few are insensible, they had invested capital, to a large amount, in the manufacture of such articles as their country needed, and as could not then be obtained elsewhere. For many of these, the return of peace diminished the demand, and afforded the opportunity of obtaining others from abroad. The probable fate of the manufacturers excited the sympathy of many; and during the summer the public were engaged in discussing the questions, whether justice required that protection and encouragement should be granted them, and, if not, whether the prosperity of the country would not be promoted, by so regulating the duties as to exclude foreign manufactures, or to raise the price of them.

The advantages of leaving trade, and even all the occupations of life, free from legislative interference and regulation; the injustice done to one pursuit, or to one class of citizens, by granting favors or protection to another; the injury resulting to man, in his physical, mental, and moral nature, by confining him, from childhood to old age, in a factory,—were the arguments urged on one side of this question. And these were answered by insisting that, however just, in theory, was the doctrine that trade and business would prosper most when left unregulated by law, yet the argument from theory could avail nothing unless the practice of all nations conformed to it: if other nations did not regard it, the one that did must become their tributary; that if other nations refused to receive, unless burdened with heavy duties, our cotton, tobacco, and flour, it would be unwise in us to receive,

with ordinary duties, their broadcloths, calicoes, and cutlery; that it could not be unjust to favor a class from whom the country had already derived a sensible relief, which fact, of itself, demonstrated that such a class was essential to a nation that aspired to be independent in reality as well as in name; that judicious encouragement now, even if granted at the present expense of other classes, must be amply remunerated by advantages which all, and more especially farmers, would ultimately reap; that, by the establishment of manufactures at home, the source of supply would be brought nearer to all, and a market for his produce nearer to the farmer; that though vice, ignorance, and effeminaey, were the concomitants of manufactures in England, yet here the state of society, public opinion, and the laws, would prevent those evils, which were not necessarily connected with that pursuit as a cause; and that it was humiliating and disgraceful for America to minister to the pride and power of England, by encouraging her artisans at the expense of our own.

Those who were unwilling to grant protection and encouragement to the manufacturers sought to support their cause by quoting the remarks of Mr. Jefferson, in his Notes on Virginia, published in 1785. "While we have land to cultivate," said he, "let us never wish to see our citizens occupied at a work-bench, or twirling a distaff. For the general operations of manufacture, let our workshops remain in Europe. It is better to carry provisions and materials to workmen there than to bring them to provisions and materials here, and with them their manners and principles." This drew from him a letter, in which he avowed a change of opinion induced by a change of circumstances. "We have experienced," said he, "what we did not then believe, that there did exist both profligacy and power enough to exclude the United States from the field of intercourse with other nations. We have therefore a right to conclude that, to be independent for the comforts of life, we must fabricate them our-

selves. We must place the manufacturer by the side of the agriculturist. The question of 1785 is suppressed, or rather assumes a new form. The question is, Shall we manufacture our own comforts, or go without them, at the will of a foreign nation? He, therefore, who is now against manufactures, must be for reducing us to a dependence upon foreign nations. I am not one of these."

War having been declared against Algiers, preparations were immediately made to prosecute it with vigor. In May, a squadron, consisting of three frigates, one sloop, four brigs, and two schooners, sailed from New York for the Mediterranean. It was commanded by Commodore Decatur, and he was accompanied by Mr. Shaler, both of whom were empowered to conclude a treaty of peace. On arriving at Gibraltar, the commodore learnt that an Algerine squadron had just entered the straits, on their return from a cruise; and he immediately proceeded in pursuit of them. On the 17th of June, he fell in with an Algerine frigate of forty-six guns, and had the good fortune to engage her in close action. Two destructive broadsides from the *Guerriere*, his flag ship, drove her crew below, and she surrendered. Her commander, who had the rank of admiral, and about thirty others, were killed; the prisoners, including the wounded, amounted to more than four hundred.

Two days afterwards, the squadron discovered and chased an Algerine brig of twenty-two guns. She ran into shoal water; the small American vessels pursued her, and to them she surrendered, after a short resistance. Part of her crew escaped in boats; twenty-three were found dead on board, and the prisoners numbered eighty.

Commodore Decatur proceeded to the port of Algiers, and arrived there on the 28th of June. A flag of truce being displayed, the captain of the port and the Swedish consul came on board the *Guerriere*. Dismayed by the information that the frigate and brig had been captured, the latter desired to know on what terms peace would

be made. A letter from the president to the dey was delivered to him; he then requested that hostilities might cease, and that persons authorized to treat should be sent on shore. He was told that no assurance would be given that hostilities should cease, and that the negotiation must be conducted on board the squadron. The next day, the same persons returned, commissioned to negotiate. The plan of a treaty was shown to them, to which they objected, but were told that no alteration would be made. They entreated that the frigate and brig might be restored, and assigned, as the reason for urging it, that, if the present dey, who was not the same that had offended the United States, should agree to a treaty more favorable to them than had ever been concluded with any other nation, without receiving what might seem to be an equivalent, his life would be in danger from the fury of his subjects. After some consideration, their solicitation was complied with; but they were told that no stipulation to that effect would be admitted into the treaty; the ships would be restored as a gift, not surrendered. The captain and consul carried the treaty to the dey, and, in three hours, brought it back, with his signature affixed; and all the Americans then prisoners in Algiers came with them.

In this treaty, it was expressly stipulated that no tribute should ever afterwards be demanded of the United States; that all American prisoners should be released; that, as a just compensation for all injuries done to citizens of the United States, the property left by the American consul should be restored to him, and the sum of ten thousand dollars should be paid; and that, in any future war, no prisoners, captured by either party, should be treated as slaves.

From Algiers, Commodore Decatur sailed to Tunis. There he ascertained that, during the late war with Great Britain, two brigs, which had been captured by American privateers, and sent into that port, had been taken from under the batteries, the government, though able to prevent it, making no resistance. For omitting

to fulfil a duty imposed by the law of nations, he demanded payment of the value of the brigs. After some hesitation, the amount required — forty-six thousand dollars — was paid into the hands of our consul at that place.

He next proceeded to Tripoli, and there made a demand of indemnity for a loss sustained in a similar way. The bashaw could not immediately raise the sum demanded; but he agreed to pay twenty-five thousand dollars, and deliver up ten captives, two of them Danes, and the others Neapolitans. The money and the captives were accepted, and the latter restored to their homes.

Congress again met on the 4th of December. Among the subjects adverted to, by the president, in his message, were the navy, the currency, manufactures, and roads and canals. In relation to the navy, he remarked, that "the signal services which it had rendered, and the capacities which it had developed for successful coöperation in the national defence, would give to that portion of the public force its full value in the eye of congress;" and that to provide amply the imperishable materials for the prompt augmentation of it was dictated by the soundest policy.

In regard to a uniform national currency, he stated that the embarrassments arising from the want of it had not been diminished since the close of the last session; and observed that, in the absence of the precious metals, it devolved on the wisdom of congress to provide a substitute which should equally engage the confidence and accommodate the wants of the citizens throughout the Union; and that, if the state banks could not furnish such a currency, the probable operation of a national bank would merit consideration.

In presenting the subject of manufactures to the notice of congress, he observed that, under circumstances giving a powerful impulse to that species of industry, it had made among us a progress, and ex-

hibited an efficiency, which justified the belief that, with a protection not more than was due to the enterprising citizens whose interests are now at stake, it would become, at an early day, not only safe from occasional competition from abroad, but a source of domestic wealth, and even of external commerce.

The construction of such roads and canals as would bring and bind more closely together the various parts of our extended confederacy, he considered of great importance. "No objects within the circle of political economy so richly repay the expense bestowed on them; there are none the utility of which is more universally ascertained and acknowledged; nor is there any country which presents a field where nature invites more the art of man to complete her own work, for his accommodation and benefit. And it is a happy reflection, that any defect of constitutional authority which may be encountered, can be supplied in a mode which the constitution itself has pointed out."

The secretary of the treasury, in his annual report, took a more extensive view than usual of the finances of the nation. He described the embarrassments which the treasury had experienced during the war, and gave an account of the various expedients which had been adopted to supply it. In concluding this historical review, he stated that the receipts into the treasury, from all sources, between the 1st day of January, 1812, and the 30th day of September, 1815, amounted to 137,414,300 dollars; and the disbursements, for the same period, to 133,703,880 dollars.

From his account of the public debt, it appeared that, of that which was contracted before the war, there remained due, on the 30th of the preceding September, 39,135,484 dollars; and that the ascertained amount, on that day, of that which had been contracted to carry it on, was 80,500,073 dollars — augmenting the whole debt to the sum of 119,635,557 dollars. Claims on the treasury not yet liquidated would, doubtless, he remarked, increase this amount. In fact, on the 1st day of the succeeding January,

the ascertained amount of the national debt was 123,016,375 dollars.

The subject of the circulating medium occupied a large space in his report. The banks south and west of New England had not yet resumed the payment of their bills in specie. He feelingly depicted the vexation and embarrassment to which his department had been subjected by the inequality of value between the bank notes of the several states, and by the difficulty of transferring funds from one part of the Union to another. He expressed the opinion that to congress was committed the exclusive authority to regulate the currency of the nation, whether that currency consisted of coin or bills of credit; and, after examining the various methods proposed for relieving the country and the government from the evils of a vitiated currency, he recommended the establishment of a national bank, as the best, if not the only one, which could be resorted to.

In a subsequent report, made in compliance with a resolution of the house of representatives, he took a view of the tariff as it would be on the expiration of the act doubling the duties on imported merchandise, which was passed in 1812, and was limited in its duration to the end of one year after the war; and considered the justice and expediency of so regulating the duties as to sustain and encourage domestic manufactures. These he divided into three classes — those firmly and permanently established; those which, being recently established, could not then, but, if sustained and encouraged, might in time, supply the whole domestic demand; and those which left the demand of the country almost wholly dependent for a supply on foreign countries. In his opinion, manufactures of the second class should be protected by imposing heavy duties on the importation of similar fabrics from abroad. The principal articles which he arranged in this class were cotton and woollen goods of the coarser kinds, and fabrics of iron of the larger kinds, such as hoes, spades, axes, &c.

The proceedings of congress corresponded nearly with the recommendation of the secretary. In the act revising the tariff, all manufactures of woollen and cotton were made subject, for three years, to a duty of twenty-five per cent. on the value, and afterwards of twenty per cent.; and, in order to exclude coarse cotton cloths, especially those manufactured of cotton not the produce of our own country, all such cloths of less value than twenty-five cents the square yard, were to pay the same duty as if they were in fact of that value. On manufactures of iron a duty of twenty per cent. was imposed; and the law, passed at the last session of congress, imposing duties on various goods, wares, and merchandise, manufactured in the United States, was repealed.

The state of the national currency occupied the attention of congress during a large part of the session. At an early day, a select committee was appointed, to which was referred so much of the president's message as related to that subject. This committee, having determined that a national bank was the most certain means of restoring a specie circulation, reported a bill to incorporate such an institution, to continue twenty years, which, after being debated and amended, passed both houses, and received the approbation of the president.

The principal provisions of the act, as it passed, were — that the capital stock of the bank should consist of 35,000,000 of dollars, divided into shares of one hundred dollars each; that 7,000,000 should be subscribed by the government, and 28,000,000 by individuals or companies; that one fifth of the capital should be paid in specie, and the remaining four fifths in specie or in the funded debt of the United States; that the number of directors should be twenty-five, of whom five, being stockholders, should be appointed by the president and senate, and the remainder chosen by the private stockholders; that none but resident citizens of the United States should be eligible as directors, and none but citizens should

vote in the choice of them; that a branch should be established in the District of Columbia, and, if congress should require it, in any state where two thousand shares might be held, and might be established wherever the bank should determine; that the bills of the bank should be receivable in all payments to the United States, unless otherwise directed by congress; that the secretary of the treasury should be authorized to call weekly for a statement of its concerns, and that either house of congress might appoint committees to inspect its books and examine into its proceedings; that it should give the necessary facilities for transferring the public funds from place to place, and perform all the duties which had been performed by the commissioners of loans; that the money of the United States should be deposited in the bank or its branches, unless the secretary of the treasury should otherwise direct, in which case he should lay before congress the reasons of such direction; that, whenever it should refuse to pay its bills or deposits in specie, it should be liable to pay twelve per cent. interest from the time of such refusal until payment; that no other bank should be incorporated by congress, except in the District of Columbia; and that, as a compensation for the exclusive privileges conferred, the bank should pay into the treasury of the United States the sum of one million and a half of dollars.

To aid in restoring the circulation of specie, congress also passed a resolution directing the secretary of the treasury to adopt such measures as he might deem necessary to cause all payments to the United States to be made in specie, in treasury notes, in notes of the Bank of the United States, or in notes of banks which were payable and paid on demand in specie; and declaring that, after the 20th day of February, 1817, no payments to the United States ought to be made in any other currency.

The navy received the fostering care of this congress. In addition to the sum of two hundred thou-

sand dollars, set apart at the last session, it now appropriated 1,000,000 of dollars annually, for eight years, to be expended in the gradual increase of that portion of the national force; and it authorized the president, should he deem it expedient, to cause to be built and equipped nine ships to rate not less than seventy-four guns each, and twelve ships to rate not less than forty-four guns each, including one ship of seventy-four, and two of forty-four guns, for which provision had been made in 1813; and it authorized him to procure the engines and all the imperishable materials for three steam batteries, to be used for the defence of the ports and harbors of the United States. The sum of 100,000 dollars was, moreover, appropriated to be distributed among the captors of the two Algerine vessels.

In the course of this session, the president laid before congress, duly ratified, a commercial convention with Great Britain, which had been negotiated at London by Messrs. Adams, Clay, and Gallatin, on the part of the United States; and he "recommended such legislative provisions as the convention might call for." By this treaty, certain facilities were granted to the commerce of the United States with the British dominions in the East Indies; but the most important stipulation which it contained was, that, in the trade between the United States and the British dominions in Europe, no higher duties should be paid, in the ports of either, on the ships and cargoes of the other, than on its own, provided those cargoes were the produce of the country to which the ships belonged. It was the object of this stipulation to abrogate in part the discriminating duties which each nation had imposed on the vessels and cargoes of the other.

The ratification of this treaty raised a constitutional question similar to that which had divided the two parties at the time of the British treaty negotiated by Mr. Jay, and ratified in 1795. The constitution gives to congress the power to lay duties; to the president and senate, the power to make treaties. The ques-

tion now was, whether, by the treaty just ratified, the discriminating duties, laid by congress, were abolished. Mr. Madison, who had participated in the debate on the treaty of 1795, and had then contended that some of the stipulations which it contained were not binding on the nation until sanctioned by the house of representatives, seemed, by his message, to be of opinion that, in this case, legislative proceedings were necessary. Although a majority of the senate thought otherwise, a bill was passed by that body declaring that all laws contrary to the treaty should be deemed and taken to be of no force or effect. This evaded the constitutional question, but accomplished the object which all wished to attain; for the treaty was universally acceptable. A majority of the house, desirous of maintaining the doctrine that a law laying duties could not be repealed or altered without the assent of the whole legislature, amended the bill from the senate, so that, in its new form, it enacted that the same duties should be paid on British as on American ships and cargoes. In this amendment, the senate refused to concur; and the house, after conference, agreed to a bill nearly resembling that from the senate. In both bodies, the debate on the question was long, able, and animated.

During this session, a law was passed changing the mode of compensation to the members of congress. Before the adoption of the constitution, the delegates were paid by the respective states. Some allowed them eight dollars a day, some six, and one an annual salary of six hundred pounds sterling, or nearly three thousand dollars. In 1789, a law was passed fixing the compensation at six dollars a day; and the rate had not since been changed. By the law now passed, the members, instead of a daily pay, were allowed an annual salary of one thousand five hundred dollars. This, should the sessions of congress be of the usual duration, increased their compensation about one third, which was less than the salaries of many officers of the government had, since 1789, been augmented, and less than the increase of the expenses of living.

In the house, the majority in favor of the law was fourteen; in the senate, eleven. Among the people, it immediately became the subject of remark and censure. Some were dissatisfied that the members had increased their own compensation; more, that they had changed the mode from a daily pay to an annual salary.

Among the laws passed at this session was one laying a direct tax of three millions of dollars; others abolishing certain internal duties, and the additional duties on postage; and another authorizing the people of the territory of Indiana to form a constitution preparatory to their being admitted, as a state, into the Union.

As the second period for which Mr. Madison was elected president was near its termination, some members of the republican party considered it expedient to take measures to concentrate the votes of that party on some person to succeed him. Near the close of the session, a printed notice, without signature, was addressed to the republican members of congress, stating that a meeting would be held, on a subsequent evening, to take into consideration the propriety of nominating candidates for the offices of president and vice-president. A small number only attending, an adjourned meeting was held, at which nearly all were present. A resolution offered by Mr. Clay, of Kentucky, that it was inexpedient to make, in caucus, any nomination of persons to fill the offices of president and vice-president, was rejected. Another, offered by Mr. Taylor, of New York, that the practice of nominating candidates for those offices, by members of congress, was inexpedient, and ought not to be continued, was also rejected. James Monroe, of Virginia, was then recommended as a suitable person to fill the office of president, he receiving sixty-five, and William H. Crawford, of Georgia, fifty-four votes; for the office of vice-president, Daniel D. Tompkins, of New York, was recommended, he receiving eighty-five, and Simon Snyder, of Pennsylvania, thirty votes.

CHAPTER XXXVII.

MR. MADISON'S ADMINISTRATION.

DURING the war, the federal party, in some of the states, impelled by motives which usually control all political parties in the minority, pursued a course tending to embarrass the government and diminish the efficiency of the national force. As a party, therefore, it became identified with opposition to the war; and, as it was waged in defence of rights on the ocean which could not be violated without deeply wounding the national honor, and which, being personal as well as national rights, the citizens of a republic feel bound to maintain at every hazard; and as it was terminated by splendid victories, — that party, at its close, found itself obnoxious to public odium, dismissed all hope of acquiring an ascendancy in the Union, and even of retaining the power and influence it then possessed. In the state elections which took place in 1816, it made but few and faint struggles for success; it made no regular nomination of candidates for the offices of president and vice-president; and the baser passions of man's nature were less excited than usual by infuriated party conflicts. In those states where the election of representatives to congress did not take place until after the passage of the compensation law, that law was used with much effect against those who had voted for it, and were candidates for reëlection.

The principal subjects which occupied the attention of the people were, in the Eastern States, manufactures, and, in the Middle, Southern, and Western, the continued derangement of the currency. Manufactures, not firmly established, and not protected by high duties, sunk under the immense importations from abroad. The superior skill of foreign artisans, low wages, and, in some cases, bounties on exportation, enabled importers to offer the articles which they

brought at a price less than that for which they could be produced in America ; and even those kinds which, during the war, yielded a profit to those engaged in manufacturing them, and were now protected by high duties, felt the effect of these importations. They amounted, in the year 1814, to but thirteen millions; in the year 1815, they arose to one hundred and thirteen millions; in the year 1816, to one hundred and forty-seven millions, in value.

The banks which had suspended still refused to resume specie payments. They could not well resume until their debtors had paid them. To many besides their debtors resumption would be injurious; and the public voice did not loudly call for it. The government, rich capitalists, creditors generally, and that class of business men who, living at the east, supplied customers living elsewhere, suffered by the suspension, and, of course, called for resumption.

In pursuance of the resolution of congress passed at its last session, the secretary of the treasury gave notice, in July, that, after the first day of October, no bills of any bank, which did not pay in specie, on demand, all its bills of the denomination of five dollars and under, would be received in payment of any dues to the government; and that, after the 20th of February, 1817, no bills of any bank would be received which did not pay all its bills in specie on demand. No favorable effect of this notice was immediately perceptible. In August, a convention of delegates from the banks of New York, Philadelphia, and Baltimore, adopted a resolution postponing the resumption of specie payments to the 1st of July, in the ensuing year. They perhaps hoped that the government would be persuaded or obliged to alter its determination; but the secretary of the treasury immediately took measures to cause the United States Bank to be put in operation as soon as possible, that it might furnish a sound circulating medium, of equal value in all parts of the Union, and present a safe place of deposit for the national treasure.

Early in the spring, books of subscription to the capital stock of this bank had been opened in all the states. The returns were received in August, when it was found that shares amounting to more than three millions of dollars had not been taken. Stephen Girard, of Philadelphia, immediately subscribed the number deficient. A meeting of the stockholders was then called, directors were chosen, and preparations made to commence operations, if possible, on the 1st of January. As the abundance of paper in circulation, supplying the place of specie, had caused it to disappear, and as all, that could conveniently be gathered, had been sent abroad to pay for the importations made, an agent was despatched to England to obtain five millions of dollars for the use of the bank.

At the meeting of congress in December, the president, in his opening message, expressed his "regret that a depression was felt by particular branches of our manufactures, and by a portion of our navigation;" and he admonished congress that manufacturing establishments, if suffered to sink too low, might not revive, and that, in the vicissitudes of human affairs, a dependence on foreign sources, for indispensable supplies, might occasion the most serious embarrassments.

The operation of the late convention with Great Britain had not been favorable to American navigation. It abolished the discriminating duties only on vessels employed in the trade between the United States and British ports in Europe, and on their cargoes. As American vessels could not enter the British ports on the continent of North America, nor in the West Indies, British vessels only could make the circuitous voyage, from Liverpool, for instance, to Jamaica, thence to New York, and thence to Liverpool again. This gave them a decided advantage over ours, as they could not only earn three freights in one voyage, while ours could earn but two, but had better opportunities of obtaining full cargoes. The president stated that Great Britain had declined to grant recip-

rocal privileges to the United States, but had declared that she would not view in an unfriendly light any countervailing regulations which they might think proper to make.

At an early day, the compensation act, passed at the last session, was taken into consideration by congress. It had been so generally condemned by the people that even many who voted for it, and had been re-elected, considered it expedient to modify or repeal it. The subject was referred to a committee, who made an able report, vindicating the law from the censures cast upon it, but recommending that the former mode of compensating the members should be restored. After considerable discussion, all the laws on the subject were repealed; and thus were devolved upon the members of the succeeding congress the duty and the right of determining in what mode they should be compensated, and what amount they should receive.

The people of the territory of Indiana having, in pursuance of the law passed at the last session, formed a constitution and state government in conformity with the provisions of that law, a resolution was passed admitting that state into the Union, on an equal footing with the original states; and the inhabitants of the western part of the territory of Mississippi were authorized to choose delegates to a convention to be held for the purpose of forming a constitution, preparatory to their admission, as a state, into the Union.

To relieve the navigation of the United States from its depressed condition, a law was passed prohibiting vessels of other nations from bringing into the ports of the Union any merchandise not produced or manufactured in the countries to which the vessels belonged. From this prohibition, however, were excepted the vessels of such nations as had not adopted a similar regulation. Those of Great Britain — she having adopted a similar regulation — were of course excluded from carrying on a portion of our trade, and a broader field opened to the navigation of the United States; and,

to countervail the advantages which British vessels derived from making circuitous voyages, another law was passed, to continue in force, however, but a short time, imposing, in effect, a duty of two dollars a ton on vessels of Great Britain coming to the United States from her ports in North America and the West India Islands. The highest tonnage duty on foreign vessels coming from other ports was fifty cents.

For several years past, many of our distinguished statesmen had directed their attention, and sought to direct that of the people, to the policy of improving the interior of the country, developing its resources, and connecting more closely together its various parts, by the construction of roads and canals. The want of them for the transportation of troops and munitions of war from the seaboard to the frontiers, and from post to post, had been severely felt during the late contest with Great Britain. Had they been previously constructed on routes designated by the general government, millions of dollars would have been saved, and many disasters prevented. Among the statesmen who had given advice and expressed opinions on this subject were the presidents Jefferson and Madison, and Mr. Gallatin, Mr. Clay, and Mr. Calhoun; but some of them, while convinced of the immense advantages of internal improvements, doubted whether the constitution conferred on congress the power to make them. It contained no express grant of such power; and they felt bound to give a more strict construction to that instrument, than to deduce it from either or all of the clauses which authorize congress to declare war, to regulate commerce among the several states, to establish post roads, and to lay and collect taxes to provide for the common defence and general welfare; and they suggested the expediency of applying to the states for such an amendment of the constitution as would remove all doubt on the subject. Others, believing that the power was already conferred, were desirous of exercising it as soon as the condition of the treasury would allow.

At this session, a committee of the house of representatives, appointed on the motion of Mr. Calhoun, reported a bill pledging, as a permanent fund for internal improvements, the bonus of the national bank, and the share of its dividends belonging to the United States. The bonus which the bank was bound, by its charter, to pay, was a million and a half of dollars; and the dividends accruing to the United States would, it was supposed, amount to near half a million annually. The bill was opposed by many and able speakers; by some, on the ground that the constitution had not granted the power to pass it; by others, because they believed that such undertakings could be more economically and properly effected by states or corporations. Their arguments were ably answered; the advantages which would result to the nation from such internal improvements were eloquently set forth, and the conviction expressed that, if left to states and corporations, they would, if ever undertaken, be constructed on routes in the selection of which local and not national interests would be consulted.

The bill, after being several times amended, provided that the fund set apart should be expended in the several states, their assent being given, in amounts proportioned to the number of their representatives, "in constructing such roads and canals, and in improving the navigation of such watercourses, as congress should direct, in order to facilitate, promote, and give security to internal commerce among the several states, and to render more easy and less expensive the means and provisions necessary for their common defence." In this shape, it passed the house by a majority of two votes. The senate, after considerable discussion, concurred with the house, the votes being twenty to fifteen.

But the bill did not receive the approbation of the president. He returned it, accompanied by a message, stating, as his objections — that the power proposed to be exercised did not appear to be among the enumerated powers granted to congress, nor to fall, by any

just interpretation, within the power to make laws necessary and proper to carry into effect the powers specifically granted; that the power "to regulate commerce among the several states" could not include a power to construct roads and canals, nor improve watercourses, without a latitude of construction departing from the ordinary import of the terms; that to derive the power in question from the clause enabling congress "to provide for the common defence and general welfare," would be contrary to the established and general rules of interpretation, for it would render nugatory the specific enumeration of powers, and give to congress an unlimited and undefined authority of legislation.

From a paragraph in his message, the president seemed to be of the opinion that, although the general government could not execute plans of internal improvement, yet the clause in the constitution authorizing congress "to lay and collect taxes to provide for the common defence and general welfare," might confer the power to appropriate money for that purpose.—This was the first occasion on which the question of the power of the general government to make internal improvements was earnestly debated in congress; it will hereafter occupy a prominent place in the congressional and political history of the republic.

The constitution provides that the presidential electors and the representatives to congress shall be appointed or chosen in such manner as the state legislatures may direct. In some of the states, the electors were appointed by the legislatures; in some, they, as well as the representatives, were chosen by the people, all voting in mass for the whole number; and, in some, both were chosen by the people voting for one only in districts. Many thought that the mode of choosing these officers ought to be uniform throughout the Union; that the large states, by the mode of voting in mass, might exercise an undue influence, especially in the election of president, as a

few of them, by combining and acting under the direction of artful leaders, could elect whom they pleased; that voting by states gave power and consequence to party, and allowed opportunities for political intrigue; that the voice of a minority in a state, if that minority, as is often the case, should constitute the majority of a district or section, ought to be heard; and that, if it could well be avoided, it was wrong to require or permit a citizen to vote for a candidate living at a distance, and of whom he could not possibly have any personal knowledge. At this session, an amendment of the constitution was proposed, providing that each state should be divided into as many districts as it was entitled to choose representatives, and again into as many as it was entitled to appoint electors, and the voters in the several districts should choose one of each. In committee of the whole, more than two thirds, the requisite majority, voted in favor of districting the states for the choice of representatives; a majority, but not two thirds, voted for the clause relating to electors; and afterwards the house refused to act further on the proposition.

The new national bank commenced operations on the 1st of January, and, by emitting its bills, furnished a currency equivalent to specie. By the side of these, the bills of banks which did not pay specie could not long continue to circulate; and it was apparent that they must cease to be current as soon as the time arrived after which, by the resolution of congress, such bills could not be received in payment of duties or debts to the government. That time was the 20th of February. On that day, the banks of New York, Philadelphia, and Baltimore, notwithstanding their resolution not to resume until the 1st of July, began to pay their bills in specie; and most of the other banks which had suspended soon followed their example.

In the fall, the people chose electors of president and vice-president; in December, the electors chosen gave their votes; and, in February, those votes

were counted in presence of the senate and house of representatives. The whole number given was two hundred and seventeen for each officer. Of those for president, James Monroe received one hundred and eighty-three, and Rufus King thirty-four. For vice-president, Daniel D. Tompkins received one hundred and eighty-three, John E. Howard twenty-two, and others thirteen. Consequently James Monroe was declared to have been elected president, and Daniel D. Tompkins vice-president. On the 3d of March, the fourteenth congress closed its last session ; and on that day terminated the administration of Mr. Madison.

CHAPTER XXXVIII.

EDUCATION, LITERATURE, RELIGION, &c.

THE whole duty of an historian is not accomplished by the relation merely of great and interesting events, of party conflicts, of political intrigues and changes. Education, literature, religion, and other kindred topics, are even more important ; and some account of them is due to the reader.

Enough has already been told to show that modes of existence altogether unknown to man in the Old World arose and prevailed in the New. Never before had an intelligent people, quitting a country where science, and the arts, and literature, had been carried to a high state of perfection, and knowledge accumulated beyond all preceding and contemporary example, sought and chosen an abode in a distant continent, where none of their race existed to aid or impede their progress, or modify their social character ; leaving behind all the evils and carrying with them most of the blessings of civilization ; casting off the dead body

of ancient abuses, and moving onward, unburdened and unrestrained, whithersoever the wisdom they had brought with them might direct.

Of the abuses left behind, the most important were, the principle that political power could be inherited; the law of primogeniture; ecclesiastical establishments; and distinction of classes;—all tending to produce and perpetuate the error, the most pernicious of all to the happiness of man, that God and nature intended the Few to govern and enjoy, and the Many to obey and be taxed. Of those who came, some brought with them more of wisdom and intelligence than others. The Puritans who emigrated to New England were mostly well educated; some were erudite scholars; and all considered it essential that their children, and their neighbors' children, should be able to read and understand the Scriptures. Believing that every soul was equal in the sight of God, they deemed it their duty to enable every one to ascertain His will and to seek salvation in the way he had pointed out. They foresaw, too, that every man might become a freeman, be entitled to exercise important rights, and be called upon to perform important duties; and they were well aware that, to enable them to do either, education was indispensably necessary.

In 1647, a law was passed in Massachusetts providing that, in every township containing fifty householders, a school should be kept, in which all the children who might resort to it should be taught to read and write; and that it should be maintained by a tax assessed on all the residents according to their property. As the number of inhabitants increased, the township was divided into small districts, and a school supported in each; and care was taken that the school-houses should be so placed that even small children might walk to them from almost every dwelling-house.

Immediately after their first settlement, the same system was adopted by the other colonies of New England; and it has by all of them been maintained

to the present time. Connecticut, having a large tract of land in Ohio, called the Western Reserve, which was sold for one million two hundred thousand dollars, appropriated the whole sum for the support of common or primary schools. The sum has since been augmented to one million nine hundred and thirty thousand dollars, and the interest is annually distributed to the several school districts, according to the number of scholars taught in each. It must be expended solely for instruction; and all the incidental expenses of the schools must be paid by the districts.

The effect of this system has been to diffuse among the great body of the people of these states a degree of knowledge which none other has ever attained. All can read and write, and rarely can one, born in the country, be found not qualified to transact the common concerns of life. The minds of all have been prepared to receive and enabled to impart information; they have been stimulated to activity and trained to investigation. Intelligence guiding every hand has doubled the value and the product of labor, and overcome the disadvantages of a sterile soil and inhospitable climate.

The great state of New York, distinguished for magnificent projects of internal improvement, and for liberal patronage of literature and the arts, has lately devoted more attention and appropriated larger funds than any other state to the establishment and improvement of common schools. In 1805, an act was passed setting apart the proceeds of five hundred thousand acres of the public lands, which should first be sold, as a permanent fund for that purpose; and directing that these proceeds should be placed at interest, and the fund allowed to accumulate until the annual income should amount to fifty thousand dollars; and that it should afterwards be applied to the support of common schools in such manner as the legislature should direct. This fund, having received additions from another source, amounted, in 1814, to eight hundred and twenty-two thousand dollars, yielding an income of fifty-seven thou-

sand dollars. By several statutes, a superintendent of schools was appointed; provision was made that the proceeds of the fund should be distributed among the several towns; and the county supervisors were directed to raise, by a tax on the towns, a sum equal to that which they were entitled to receive from the state. In 1815, the amount received from all sources by the districts was about sixty-five thousand dollars; in 1838, it was three hundred and seventy-four thousand; and it was ascertained that, in the same year, there was expended by private individuals, in payment of teachers' wages, the additional sum of five hundred and twenty-one thousand dollars. In the former year, the whole number of children instructed in the common schools was one hundred and forty thousand; in the latter, five hundred and fifty-seven thousand; the increase being much greater than that of the population of the state, and therefore showing the rapid progress which the love of education had made among the people.

The greatest difficulty experienced in those states where common schools have been established, and their capacity to do good clearly perceived, has been, to find fit and competent teachers. To obviate this, provision has been made in New York to establish, in many of the numerous academies in that state, departments for the instruction of such persons, male and female, as are desirous of devoting their time to that employment, not only in the branches to be taught, but in the best mode of communicating knowledge to the young. And, furthermore, that useful information of all kinds might be extensively, and even universally, diffused throughout the state, a large annual appropriation has been made, to be expended for three successive years, in purchasing, for every district, a school library, for the use, not only of scholars, but of every inhabitant.

Other states, following the examples of Connecticut and New York, have set apart funds and made annual appropriations for the support of common schools. New Jersey has a fund of about three hundred thousand dollars; Pennsylvania, besides making, in one

year, an appropriation of five hundred thousand dollars, to be expended principally in building school-houses, appropriates annually a sum equal to one dollar for every taxable inhabitant, all numbering, at this time, more than three hundred thousand. The amount annually distributed by Ohio is nearly five hundred thousand dollars; by Maryland, more than sixty thousand. In most of these states, no district is allowed to participate in the public bounty, which does not expend a certain, generally an equal, amount derived from its own resources. Virginia, North Carolina, Missouri, and Michigan, have also set apart large funds for the support of common schools; but they have not yet devised and carried into extensive and regular operation a system for the expenditure of the income.

The national government has not been unmindful of the importance of universal education. Before the adoption of the constitution, it acquired, by the cession of the states claiming it, the property of nearly all the unappropriated land within the national boundaries. In offering this land for sale, it has reserved, in every township, one section, comprising six hundred and forty acres, for the use of schools. As the population of the new states becomes more dense, these lands will constitute a valuable and productive fund, and the system of free schools, thus planted in the western, will there produce the same benefits as in the eastern portion of the Union. Judging from what has already been accomplished and projected, it cannot be long before means will have been provided for the instruction, in reading, writing, and arithmetic, of every child in the United States, at school-houses so placed as to be easily accessible to all.

Schools of a higher order, to which the name of Academies has been applied, are numerous in all the states, especially in those of New England and New York. Many are incorporated, and some possess considerable funds. In these schools are taught English grammar, composition, history, geography, mathemat-

ics, the Latin and Greek, and in some the modern, languages. Many young men resort to them to acquire an education superior to that which can be obtained at the primary schools, and many to prepare themselves to enter some college or university. They are principally taught by those who have just received a degree in the arts, and who are unable, from the want of property, to engage immediately in the study of the professions which they intend to pursue.

Of colleges and universities there is also a large number in the United States. The oldest and first in rank is Harvard College, at Cambridge, Massachusetts. It was established in 1638, only eighteen years after the first settlement of Plymouth. It had then a fund of about five thousand dollars, nearly two thirds of which was a donation from the Reverend John Harvard, of Charlestown. The first degrees were conferred, upon nine young gentlemen, in 1642. It has since received many and large additions to its funds, principally donations from individuals; and, from the exertions of its learned presidents and professors, has, with short intermissions, been constantly advancing in reputation and increasing in usefulness. The library contains about forty-five thousand volumes. The faculty consists generally of a president and about twenty professors; the number of its students varies from two hundred and twenty to two hundred and fifty; and of its resident graduates from one hundred and fifty to one hundred and seventy-five.

Yale College was founded in 1700, and incorporated in 1701. It was first established at Saybrook; but, in 1716, was removed to New Haven, in Connecticut. Elihu Yale, a merchant in London, having made to it a donation of more than four thousand dollars, its name was, in 1718, changed from the Collegiate School to Yale College. Afterwards Bishop Berkeley, the celebrated metaphysician, who had resided two years in America, presented to it a collection of books, consisting of nearly one thousand volumes; and a farm in Newport, the annual rent of

which, on a long lease, is two hundred and forty bushels of wheat. From the state, and from other sources, it has received many liberal donations. Its libraries contain about twenty-five thousand volumes. The faculty consists generally of a president and from ten to fifteen professors; and the number of its students is about four hundred.

In addition to these, there are in the Union about ninety colleges and universities authorized to confer degrees. In all of these are taught the English, Latin, and Greek languages, rhetoric, mathematics, natural philosophy, logic, chemistry, astronomy, history, and geography. In some of them are also taught the Hebrew, Oriental, and modern European languages, anatomy, surgery, medicine, botany, polite literature, divinity, ethics, natural and municipal law, politics, and elocution.

LITERATURE.—The remark has often been made, that the United States have produced no eminent scholars; and that the national character has not been illustrated by literary and scientific performances of distinguished merit. This remark is doubtless just. Compared with those of the Old World, their writers have not exhibited the same labored polish of style, nor their men of science the same perseverance and extent of investigation. Their historians are not equal to Hume or Robertson; their poets to Milton or Pope; their chemists to Lavoisier or Davy; nor their metaphysicians to Locke, Berkeley, or Reid.

But this fact implies no deficiency of mental vigor in the people. The mind of the nation has received, from circumstances, a different direction. Those who are endued with extraordinary talent, whatever may have been their original propensities, have been called from the closet to labor in the legislative hall, or the cabinet; to vindicate the cause or defend the interest of their country abroad; to dispense justice from the

bench, or to support and defend, at the bar, the claims and the rights of their fellow-citizens.

To perform these duties — certainly not less honorable nor less difficult than any thing which the mere scholar can perform — a greater variety of talents, and greater intellectual labor, have been required in this than in any other country. Here, in comparatively a short period, the foundations have been laid, and the superstructures erected, of new political institutions. Many governments have been established over communities differing from each other, and from those of Europe; and over these a paramount government, with extensive and important powers. For each of these communities, a new system of law has been required, and each government has a separate executive, legislative, and judicial department. The population of no country has been called upon to supply such a number of legislators, of judges, and of lawyers; nor, it may be added, of instructors of youth; and, while their number accounts for the comparative neglect of literature and the fine arts, the talents they have displayed sufficiently vindicate the republic from the reproach of intellectual inferiority.

But not in these modes alone have the people of these states proved, that in original powers of mind they may assert an equality, at least, with those of any other nation. None has made more important discoveries in the useful arts. England boasts of her Arkwright, who invented the spinning machine; of her Worcester, Newcomen, and Watt, by whose ingenuity and labors the powers of steam were substituted for the uncertain aid of wind and water in moving the machinery of manufactories. America may boast of her Godfrey, whose quadrant has been almost as serviceable as the compass to navigation; of her Franklin, who has made our dwellings comfortable within, and protected them from the lightning of heaven; of her Whitney, whose cotton gin has added to the annual product of that article at least three

hundred millions of pounds; of her Whittemore, the inventor of the wonderful machine for making cards; of her Perkins, the inventor of the nail machine; and of her Fulton, who has rendered the power of steam subservient to the purposes of navigation.

But the United States have produced authors who would do honor even to any other nation. The style of Franklin is perspicuous and pure; and few men of any age or country have contributed more, by their writings, to enlighten and to benefit mankind. The histories of Marshall, Belknap, Williams, Bancroft, and Prescott, are works of sterling merit, interesting, and instructive. Among theological writers, Edwards, Hopkins, Dwight, Davies, Buckminster, and Channing, are deservedly eminent. In the class of novelists, Brown, Cooper, and Sedgwick, rank high; and among philologists Webster has few if any equals.

Many of the political writers of this country have displayed great vigor of thought and force of expression. The pamphlets and state papers to which the revolutionary struggle gave existence; the numbers of the *Federalist*; the official letters of Mr. Jefferson, as secretary of state, and of the American ministers at Ghent, not only display intellectual powers, but possess literary merit, of the highest order. Some of the best writers of this republic have not been the authors of books.

A comparison between the orators of America and of any other country, even of England, cannot be so easily instituted. It seldom falls to the lot of one man to witness the most powerful displays of eloquence in both; and if it did, no one could be so thoroughly conversant with the feelings and modes of thought of the different audiences, nor so perfectly acquainted with the topics discussed, or the objects to be attained, or the most proper means of attaining those objects, as to be capable of awarding the palm of merit. The most intelligent Englishman, after listening to a debate in congress on a constitutional question, might be excused for wondering how any of the speakers,

though displaying surpassing ability, could be considered in the first rank of orators, with almost as much reason as a Frenchman for feeling surprise that Shakspeare had been placed at the head of dramatic poets. But does not this republic present as fitting audience and as attractive prizes; has she not furnished as glorious, as exciting topics; do not her institutions and social condition offer as frequent occasions, to form great orators as any nation that has ever existed? Here more start in the career of eloquence than in any other country: though thousands fail, would it not be surprising if some did not ascend the highest eminence? If an American may not claim for his country the superiority in this, the chief of all arts, he has a right to mention with pride the names of Marshall, Webster, and Calhoun, of Henry, Ames, and Clay.

To the FINE ARTS still less attention has been paid than to literature; but the neglect is to be attributed rather to the deficiency of patronage than to the want of capacity to excel. Benjamin West, a native of Pennsylvania, presided for many years over the Royal Society, comprising the most eminent painters of Great Britain. In portrait-painting, Copley, Stuart, Sully, and Peale, have acquired a high reputation; and in historical painting, Trumbull, Allston, Leslie, and Morse, excel. The United States claim only the honor of their birth; England and Italy, that of patronizing and instructing them.

RELIGION.—The consequences resulting from the enjoyment of religious liberty have been highly favorable. Free discussion has enlightened the ignorant, disarmed superstition of its dreadful powers, and consigned to oblivion many erroneous and fantastic creeds. Religious oppression, and the vindictive feelings it arouses, are hardly known. Catholics and Protestants live together in harmony; and Protestants who disagree, employ, in defending their own doc-

trines, and in assailing those of their antagonists, the weapons only of reason and eloquence.

In the New England States, the Independents or Congregationalists constitute the most numerous denomination; in the Middle States, the Presbyterians; and in the Southern, the Methodists. Baptists, Episcopalians, and Roman Catholics, are found in all the states; but in Maryland and Louisiana, the Catholics are more numerous than elsewhere. Each of these sects has one or more seminaries of learning, in which its peculiar doctrines are taught, and young men are educated for the ministry. Many other sects exist, but reason, less tolerant than the laws, is gradually diminishing the number.

CHARACTER AND MANNERS.—Foreigners have asserted that the Americans possess no national character. If at any period this assertion has been true, it was then no reproach. In its youth, a nation can have no established character. The inhabitants of this republic, coming from every quarter of the world, speaking many different languages, dispersed over a vast extent of territory, could not immediately assimilate and exhibit those few prominent traits, which nations, as well as individuals, in their maturity, display.

But the germ of a national character has always existed. It has grown with our growth, and is gradually throwing into the shade those unfavorable and discordant traits which have disfigured and partly concealed it from view. Who, that has read the history of these states, has not perceived, in the inhabitants, an energy of purpose capable of surmounting all obstacles; a spirit of enterprise, that leaves nothing useful unattempted; a proud sense of personal dignity and independence; a decided preference of utility before show; and a love of knowledge that has dispelled ignorance from the land? They may have been too much devoted to the pursuit of gain; too much addicted to habits of intemperance; too much

inflated with national vanity; bigoted and superstitious;—but these traits are now less apparent; they are constantly melting away, and those more noble appearing in bolder relief.

They whose wealth or talents place them in the first rank in society, are, in their manners, free from awkwardness, formality, haughtiness, and ostentation; but they do not display the elegance or refinement of the same class in Europe. The mass of the people are serious, shrewd, inquisitive, manly, and generally respectful; but they know little, and practise less, of the ceremonies of formal politeness. To foreigners, accustomed to the servility of the lower classes in Europe, they doubtless appear rough and uncourty; and many fashionable tourists may have had their feelings needlessly wounded, and their delicacy shocked; but, when respectfully treated, they display native politeness and generosity of sentiment. Time will remove the grosser defects; but may it never, by polishing too deeply, impair that strength of character which is essential to the permanence of our republican institutions!

A review of the rapid progress of the United States in population, wealth, and power; a survey of their present physical and moral condition; and a comparison of them, in either respect, with other nations, cannot fail to give to an American citizen an elevated conception of his own country, and to justify the loftiest anticipations of the future.

In a period of forty years, ending with 1830, the population of the republic increased from 3,893,835 to 12,866,920; it consequently doubles in less than twenty-five years. In Great Britain, the population does not double in less than eighty years; and in that country the increase is nearly, if not quite, as rapid as in any other country in Europe.

The augmentation of wealth and power cannot be so easily ascertained. It is the opinion of many, well qualified to judge, that it has been still more rapid; and when the increase of our exports, which in the

same period advanced from 19,000,000 to 73,000,000; when the growth of our cities and villages; the increase of our manufacturing establishments, of our national and mercantile navy, of our fortifications and other means of defence; the extent of our internal improvements; and, beyond all, the extensive territories reclaimed from a state of nature, and made productive and valuable, are adverted to, that opinion will not appear unfounded nor extravagant.

Although now inferior to the principal nations of the Old World, yet but a short period will elapse before the United States, should their progress hereafter be the same that it has been, will overtake and pass them. Their great natural advantages will continue to urge them forward. Extensive tracts of fertile land yet remain vacant of inhabitants; the portions already settled are capable of supporting a much more numerous population; new roads and new canals will give greater activity to internal commerce, and open new fields to the untiring industry and enterprise of man; and, a small part only being required by the government, nearly the whole annual income will be added to the general capital, augmenting it in a compound ratio.

That these splendid anticipations are not the suggestions of national vanity, the history of the past sufficiently proves. Yet their fulfilment depends upon the future conduct of the people themselves; upon the preservation of free political institutions; upon their firmness in resisting the temptations which beset the prosperous; and, above all, upon their guarding against the besetting sin of republics — that which has hitherto, in every instance, been fatal — yielding their confidence to those who make the loudest professions of patriotism.

APPENDIX.

TABLE I.

List of General Officers, at the Commencement and Close of the Revolutionary War.

FIRST CONTINENTAL ARMY, 1775.

Commander-in-Chief.

	State.	Date of Commis.
GEORGE WASHINGTON,	Virginia,	June 15, 1775.

Major-Generals.

Artemas Ward,	Massachusetts,	June 17, 1775.
Charles Lee,	Virginia,	do. 17, 1775.
Philip Schuyler,	New York,	do. 19, 1775.
Israel Putnam,	Connecticut,	do. 19, 1775.

Brigadier-Generals.

Seth Pomeroy,	Massachusetts,	June 22, 1775.
Richard Montgomery,	New York,	do. 22, 1775.
David Wooster,	Connecticut,	do. 22, 1775.
William Heath,	Massachusetts,	do. 22, 1775.
Joseph Spencer,	Connecticut,	do. 22, 1775.
John Thomas,	Massachusetts,	do. 22, 1775.
John Sullivan,	New Hampshire,	do. 22, 1775.
Nathaniel Greene,	Rhode Island,	do. 22, 1775.

Adjutant-General.

Horatio Gates,	Virginia,	June 17, 1775.
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CONTINENTAL ARMY IN 1783.

Commander-in-Chief.

	State.	Date of Commis.
GEORGE WASHINGTON,	Virginia,	June 15, 1775.

Major-Generals.

Israel Putnam,	Connecticut,	June 19, 1775.
Horatio Gates,	Virginia,	May 16, 1776.
William Heath,	Massachusetts,	Aug. 9, 1776.
Nathaniel Greene,	Rhode Island,	do. 9, 1776.
William Lord Stirling,	New Jersey,	Feb. 19, 1777.
Arthur St. Clair,	Pennsylvania,	do. 19, 1777.
Benjamin Lincoln,	Massachusetts,	do. 19, 1777.
M. de La Fayette,	France,	July 31, 1777.
Robert Howe,	North Carolina,	Oct. 20, 1777.
Alexander McDougall,	New York,	do. 20, 1777.
Baron Steuben,	Prussia,	May 5, 1778.
William Smallwood,	Maryland,	Sept. 15, 1780.
William Moultrie,	South Carolina,	Nov. 14, 1780.
Henry Knox,	Massachusetts,	do. 15, 1780.
Le Chevalier du Portail,	France,	do. 16, 1780.

Brigadier-Generals.

James Clinton,	New York,	Aug. 9, 1776.
Lachlan McIntosh,	Georgia,	Sept. 16, 1776.
John Patterson,	Massachusetts,	Feb. 21, 1777.
Anthony Wayne,	Pennsylvania,	do. 1777.
George Weeden,	Virginia,	do. 1777.
P. Muhlenburg,	Virginia,	do. 1777.
George Clinton,	New York,	Mar. 25, 1777.
Edward Hand,	Pennsylvania,	April 1, 1777.
Charles Scott,	Virginia,	do. 2, 1777.
Jedidiah Huntington,	Connecticut,	May 12, 1777.
John Stark,	New Hampshire,	Oct. 4, 1777.
Jethro Sumner,	North Carolina,	Jan. 9, 1779.
Isaac Huger,	South Carolina,	do. 9, 1779.
Mordecai Gist,	Maryland,	do. 9, 1779.

	State.	Date of Commis.
William Irvine,.....	Pennsylvania,.....	Jan. 9, 1779.
Daniel Morgan,.....	Virginia,.....	Oct. 13, 1780.
Moses Hazen,.....		June 29, 1781.
C. H. Williams,.....	Maryland,.....	May 9, 1782.
John Groaton,.....	Massachusetts,.....	Jan. 7, 1783.
Rufus Putnam,.....	Massachusetts,.....	do. 7, 1783.
Elias Dayton,.....	New Jersey,.....	do. 7, 1783.

Major-General le Chevalier du Portail, *Chief Engineer.*

Major-General Baron Steuben, *Inspector-General.*

Colonel Walter Stewart, *Inspector of the Northern Department.*

Brigadier-General Hand, *Adjutant-General.*

Colonel Timothy Pickering, *Quarter-Master-General.*

John Cockran, Esq., *Director-General of Hospitals.*

Thomas Edwards, *Judge-Advocate-General.*

John Pierce, Esq., *Paymaster-General.*

TABLE II.

Showing the Force that each of the Thirteen States supplied for the Regular Army, from 1775 to 1783, inclusive.

[From Niles's Register, July 31, 1830.]

Regulars.	Regulars.
New Hampshire,.....12,497	Delaware,..... 2,386
Massachusetts,.....67,907	Maryland,.....13,912
Rhode Island,..... 5,908	Virginia,.....26,678
Connecticut,.....31,939	North Carolina,..... 7,263
New York,.....17,781	South Carolina,..... 6,417
New Jersey,.....10,726	Georgia,..... 2,679
Pennsylvania,.....25,678	Total,.....231,791.

TABLE III.

A Statement of the Troops, Continental and Militia, furnished by the respective States, during the Revolutionary War, from 1775 to 1783, inclusive.

[From the Collections of the New Hampshire Historical Society.]

STATES.	1775.		1776.		1777.		1778.		1779.		1780.		1781.		1782.		1783.	
	Contin.		Contin.	Militia.	Contin.	Militia.	Contin.	Mil.	Contin.	Mil.	Contin.	Mil.	Contin.	Mil.	Contin.		Contin.	
New Hamp..	2,824	3,019	.....	.....	1,172	1,111	1,283	.....	1,004	922	1,017	760	700	.....	744	733	.....	733
Mass.....	16,444	13,372	4,000	.....	7,816	2,775	7,010	1,947	6,287	1,451	4,553	3,436	3,732	1,566	4,423	4,370	.....	4,370
R. Island,...	1,193	798	1,102	.....	548	.....	630	2,426	507	756	915	.....	464	.....	481	372	.....	372
Connecticut,	4,507	6,390	5,737	.....	4,563	.....	4,010	.....	3,514	.....	3,133	554	2,420	1,501	1,732	1,740	.....	1,740
New York,...	2,075	3,629	1,715	.....	1,903	921	2,194	.....	2,256	.....	2,179	608	1,728	.....	1,198	1,169	.....	1,169
New Jersey,	.....	3,193	5,893	.....	1,408	.....	1,586	.....	1,276	.....	1,105	162	823	.....	660	675	.....	675
Pennsyl.....	400	5,519	4,876	.....	4,983	2,481	3,684	.....	3,476	.....	3,337	.....	1,346	.....	1,265	1,598	.....	1,598
Delaware,...	.....	609	145	.....	229	.....	349	.....	317	.....	335	231	89	.....	164	235	.....	235
Maryland,...	.....	637	2,592	.....	2,030	1,535	3,307	.....	2,849	.....	2,065	.....	770	.....	1,280	974	.....	974
Virginia,...	.....	6,181	.....	.....	5,744	1,289	5,236	.....	3,973	.....	2,485	.....	1,215	4,331	1,204	629	.....	629
N. Carolina,...	.....	1,134	.....	.....	1,281	.....	1,287	.....	1,214	.....	.....	.....	545	.....	1,105	697	.....	697
S. Carolina,...	.....	2,069	.....	.....	1,650	.....	1,650	.....	909	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	139	.....	139
Georgia,....	.....	351	.....	.....	1,423	.....	673	.....	87	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	145	.....	145
	27,443	46,901	26,060	10,112	34,750	10,112	32,899	4,353	27,699	2,429	21,115	5,811	13,832	7,398	14,256	13,076		13,076

TOTAL,..... { Continental,.....231,971.
Militia,..... 56,163.

TABLE IV.

Expense of the Revolutionary War.

It is not possible to ascertain with certainty the expenses of the revolutionary war. An estimate was made, in 1790, by the register of the treasury, of which the following is a general abstract:—

	Dolls.	90ths.
The estimated amount of the expenditures of 1775 and 1776 is, in specie,.....	20,064,666	66
1777,.....	24,986,646	85
1778,.....	24,289,438	26
1779,.....	10,794,620	65
1780,.....	3,000,000	00
1781,.....	1,942,465	30
1782,.....	3,632,745	85
1783,.....	3,226,583	45
To Nov. 1, 1784,.....	548,525	63
Forming an amount total of.....	\$92,485,693	15

The foregoing estimates, being confined to actual treasury payments, are exclusive of the debts of the United States, which were incurred, at various periods, for the support of the war, and should be taken into a general view of the expense thereof, viz.

	Dolls.	90ths.
Army debt, upon commissioners' certificates,	11,080,576	1
For supplies furnished by the citizens of the several states, and for which certificates were issued by the commissioners,	3,723,625	20
For supplies furnished in the quarter-master, commissary, hospital, clothing, and marine departments, exclusive of the foraging,.....	1,159,170	5
For supplies, on accounts settled at the treasury, and for which certificates were issued by the register,.....	744,638	49
	\$16,708,009	75

Note.—The loan-office debt formed a part of the treasury expenditures.

The foreign expenditures, civil, military, naval, and contingencies, amount, by computation, to the sum of.....	5,000,000 00
The expenditures of the several states, from the commencement of the war to the establishment of peace, cannot be stated with any degree of certainty, because the accounts thereof remain to be settled; but, as the United States have granted certain sums for the relief of the several states, to be funded by the general government, therefore estimate the total amount of said assumption,.....	21,500,000 00
Estimated expense of the war, specie,....	<u>\$135,693,703 00</u>

TABLE V.

Emissions of Continental Money.

The advances made from the treasury were principally in a paper medium, which was called *Continental money*, and which in a short time depreciated: the specie value of it is given in the foregoing estimate. The advances made at the treasury of the United States in Continental money, in old and new emissions, are estimated as follows, viz.

	<i>Old Emission.</i>		<i>New Emission.</i>	
	Dollars.	90ths.	Dollars.	90ths.
In 1776,.....	20,064,666	66		
1777,.....	26,426,333	1		
1778,.....	66,965,269	34		
1779,.....	149,703,856	77		
1780,.....	82,908,320	47.....	891,236	80
1781,.....	11,408,095	00.....	1,179,249	00
	<u>\$357,476,541</u>	<u>45</u>	<u>\$2,070,485</u>	<u>80</u>

By comparing this amount of paper money, issued during the revolution, with the above estimate of the total expense in specie dollars, it will be seen that the average depreciation of the whole amount issued was nearly two thirds of its original value.

TABLE VI.

State Expenditures and Balances.

During the revolutionary war, the several states often acted independently, and expended large sums in addition to what was expended by the congress. In 1790, a certain amount of the debt of each state was assumed by the general government. In the same year, a board of commissioners was established to settle the accounts between the United States and the individual states. This board was instructed to give each state credit for its expenditures, and the interest thereon, to the last day of the year 1789; and to charge to each state the advances made to it by congress, with interest to the same time, and the amount of its debt assumed; then to ascertain the aggregate of the excess of the expenditures of each over the advances to each; then to apportion this aggregate among the several states, according to the rule prescribed in the constitution for the apportionment of direct taxes and representatives; and then to credit or debit the respective states the amounts expended more or less than their proportions. The following table exhibits the result of the labors of the board. The creditor states were paid in stock of the United States.

STATES.	Sums allowed for expenditures.	Sums charged for advances by United States, including the assumption of state debts.	Expenditures, excluding all Advances.	Balances found due from the United States.	Balances found due to the United States.
N. H.	4,278,015 02	1,082,954 02	3,195,061	75,055	
Mass.	17,964,613 03	6,258,880 03	11,705,733	1,243,801	
R. Isl.	3,782,974 46	1,977,603 46	1,805,366	299,611	
Conn.	9,285,737 92	3,436,244 92	5,829,493	619,121	
N. York,	7,179,982 78	1,960,031 78	5,219,951	.....	2,074,846
N. Jer.	5,312,770 52	1,343,321 52	3,999,449	49,030	
Penn.	14,137,076 22	4,690,686 22	9,446,390	.....	76,709
Dela.	839,319 98	229,898 98	609,421	.....	612,428
Maryl'd,	7,568,145 38	1,592,631 38	5,975,514	.....	151,640
Virg.	19,085,981 51	3,303,416 51	15,282,865	.....	100,879
N. Car.	10,127,586 13	3,151,358 13	7,276,228	.....	501,082
S. Car.	11,523,299 29	5,780,264 29	5,743,035	1,205,978	
Georgia,	2,993,800 86	1,415,328 86	1,578,472	19,983	

TABLE VII.

*List of Presidents, Heads of Departments, &c., from 1789
to 1837, forty-eight Years.*

FIRST ADMINISTRATION;

1789 to 1797; — 8 years.

President.

Inaugurated.

GEORGE WASHINGTON,... Virginia, April 30, 1789.

Vice-President.

John Adams,..... Massachusetts, ... April 30, 1789.

Secretaries of State.

Appointed.

Thomas Jefferson,..... Virginia, Sept. 26, 1789.

Edmund Randolph,..... Virginia, Jan. 2, 1794.

Timothy Pickering,..... Pennsylvania, Dec. 10, 1795.

Secretaries of the Treasury.

Alexander Hamilton,.... New York, Sept. 11, 1789.

Oliver Wolcott,..... Connecticut, Feb. 3, 1795.

Secretaries of War.

Henry Knox,..... Massachusetts, ... Sept. 12, 1789.

Timothy Pickering,..... Pennsylvania, Jan. 2, 1795.

James M'Henry,..... Maryland, Jan. 27, 1796.

Pastmasters-General.

Samuel Osgood,..... Massachusetts, ... Sept. 26, 1789.

Timothy Pickering,..... Pennsylvania, Nov. 7, 1791.

Joseph Habersham,..... Georgia, Feb. 25, 1795.

Attorneys-General.

Edmund Randolph,..... Virginia, Sept. 26, 1789.

William Bradford,..... Pennsylvania, Jan. 27, 1794.

Charles Lee,..... Virginia, Dec. 10, 1795.

Speakers of the House of Representatives.

Frederick A. Muhlenburg,..Pennsylvania,..1st Cong. 1789.
 Jonathan Trumbull,.....Connecticut,...2d do. 1791.
 Frederick A. Muhlenburg,..Pennsylvania,..3d do. 1793.
 Jonathan Dayton,.....New Jersey,...4th do. 1795.

SECOND ADMINISTRATION;

1797 to 1801 ; — 4 years.

President.

JOHN ADAMS,.....Massachusetts,...March 4, 1797.

Vice-President.

Thomas Jefferson,.....Virginia,.....March 4, 1797.

Secretaries of State.

Timothy Pickering,.....Pennsylva., .(continued in office.)
 John Marshall,.....Virginia,.....May 13, 1800.

Secretaries of the Treasury.

Oliver Wolcott,.....Conn.,.....(continued in office.)
 Samuel Dexter,.....Massachusetts,...Dec. 31, 1800.

Secretaries of War.

James M'Henry,.....Maryland,...(continued in office.)
 Samuel Dexter,.....Massachusetts,...May 13, 1800.
 Roger Griswold,.....Connecticut,.....Feb. 3, 1801.

Secretaries of the Navy.

George Cabot,*.....Massachusetts,...May 3, 1798.
 Benjamin Stoddert,.....Maryland,.....May 21, 1798.

Postmaster-General.

Joseph Habersham,.....Georgia,.....(continued in office.)

* Mr. Cabot declined the appointment. The navy department was established in 1798.

Attorney-General.

Charles Lee,.....Virginia,.....(*continued in office.*)

Speakers of the House of Representatives.

Jonathan Dayton,.....New Jersey,.....5th Cong. 1797.

Theodore Sedgwick,.....Massachusetts,....6th do. 1799.

THIRD ADMINISTRATION;

1801 to 1809;—8 years.

President.

THOMAS JEFFERSON,.....Virginia,.....March 4, 1801.

Vice-Presidents.

Aaron Burr,.....New York,.....March 4, 1801.

George Clinton,.....New York,.....March 4, 1805.

Secretary of State.

James Madison,.....Virginia,.....March 5, 1801.

Secretaries of the Treasury.

Samuel Dexter,.....Mass.,.....(*continued in office.*)

Albert Gallatin,.....Pennsylvania,....Jan. 26, 1802.

Secretary of War.

Henry Dearborn,.....Massachusetts,...March 5, 1801.

Secretaries of the Navy.

Benjamin Stoddert,.....Maryland,. .(*continued in office.*)

Robert Smith,*.....Maryland,.....Jan. 26, 1802.

* Robert Smith was appointed attorney-general, and Jacob Crowninshield, of Massachusetts, secretary of the navy, on the 2d of March, 1805, but they both declined these appointments; and Mr. Smith continued in the office of secretary of the navy till the end of Mr. Jefferson's administration.

Postmasters-General.

Joseph Habersham,.....Georgia,....(*continued in office.*)
 Gideon Granger,.....Connecticut,.....Jan. 26, 1802.

Attorneys-General.

Levi Lincoln,.....Massachusetts,...March 5, 1801.
 John Breckenridge,....Kentucky,.....Dec. 23, 1805.
 Cæsar A. Rodney,.....Delaware,.....Jan. 20, 1807.

Speakers of the House of Representatives.

Nathaniel Macon,.....North Carolina,...7th Cong 1801.
 Joseph B. Varnum,....Massachusetts,....8th do. 1803.
 Nathaniel Macon,.....North Carolina,...9th do. 1805.
 Joseph B. Varnum,....Massachusetts,...10th do. 1807.

FOURTH ADMINISTRATION;

1809 to 1817;—8 years.

President.

JAMES MADISON,.....Virginia,.....March 4, 1809.

Vice-Presidents.

George Clinton,.....N. Y., 1809, (*died April 20, 1812.*)
 Elbridge Gerry,.....Mass., 1813, (*died Nov. 23, 1814.*)

Secretaries of State.

Robert Smith,.....Maryland,.....March 6, 1809.
 James Monroe,.....Virginia,.....Nov. 25, 1811.
 James Monroe,*.....Virginia,.....Feb. 28, 1815.

Secretaries of the Treasury.

Albert Gallatin,.....Pennsylv.,....(*continued in office.*)
 George W. Campbell,....Tennessee,.....Feb. 9, 1814.
 Alexander J. Dallas,....Pennsylvania,....Oct. 6, 1814.

* James Monroe was recommissioned, having for some time acted as secretary of war.

Secretaries of War.

William Eustis,Massachusetts, ...March 7, 1809.
 John Armstrong,New York,Jan. 13, 1813.
 James Monroe,Virginia,Sept. 27, 1814.
 William H. Crawford,Georgia,March 2, 1815.

Secretaries of the Navy.

Paul Hamilton,South Carolina, ...March 7, 1809.
 William Jones,Pennsylvania,Jan. 12, 1813.
 Benj. W. Crowninshield, .Massachusetts, ...Dec. 19, 1814.

Postmasters-General.

Gideon Granger,Connecticut, (*continued in office.*)
 Return J. Meigs,Ohio,Mar. 17, 1814.

Attorneys-General.

Cæsar A. Rodney,Delaware, ...(*continued in office.*)
 William Pinkney,Maryland,Dec. 11, 1811.
 Richard Rush,Pennsylvania,Feb. 10, 1814.

Speakers of the House of Representatives.

Joseph B. Varnum,Massachusetts, ...11th Cong. 1809.
 Henry Clay,Kentucky,12th do. 1811.
 Henry Clay,Kentucky, } 13th do. { 1812.
 Langdon Cheves,South Carolina, } 1814.
 Henry Clay,Kentucky,14th do. 1815.

FIFTH ADMINISTRATION;

1817 to 1825; — 8 years.

President.

JAMES MONROE,Virginia,March 4, 1817.

Vice-President.

Daniel D. Tompkins,New York,March 4, 1817.

Secretary of State.

John Q. Adams,Massachusetts, ...March 5, 1817.

Secretary of the Treasury.

William H. Crawford,....Georgia,.....March 5, 1817.

Secretaries of War.

Isaac Shelby,*.....Kentucky,.....March 5, 1817.

John C. Calhoun,.....South Carolina,..Dec. 16, 1817.

Secretories of the Navy.

Benj. W. Crowninshield,.Mass.,.....(*continued in office.*)

Smith Thompson,.....New York,.....Nov. 30, 1818.

Samuel L. Southard,.....New Jersey,.....Dec. 9, 1823.

Postmasters-General.

Return J. Meigs,.....Ohio.....(*continued in office.*)

John M'Lean,.....Ohio,.....Dec. 9, 1823.

Attorneys-General.

Richard Rush,.....Pennsylv.,...(*continued in office.*)

William Wirt,.....Virginia,.....Dec. 16, 1817.

Speakers of the House of Representatives.

Henry Clay,.....Kentucky,15th Cong. 1817.

Henry Clay,.....Kentucky, } ...16th do. { 1819.

John W. Taylor,.....New York, } ...16th do. { 1820.

Philip P. Barbour,.....Virginia,17th do. 1821.

Henry Clay,.....Kentucky,18th do. 1823.

SIXTH ADMINISTRATION;

1825 to 1829;—4 years.

President.

JOHN QUINCY ADAMS, ...Massachusetts, ...March 4, 1825.

Vice-President.

John C. Calhoun,.....South Carolina,..March 4, 1825

* Isaac Shelby declined the appointment.

Secretary of State.

Henry Clay,.....Kentucky,.....March 8, 1825.

Secretary of the Treasury.

Richard Rush,.....Pennsylvania,....March 7, 1825.

Secretaries of War.

James Barbour,.....Virginia,.....March 7, 1825.

Peter B. Porter,.....New York,.....May 26, 1828.

Secretary of the Navy.

Samuel L. Southard,.....New Jersey,.(continued in office.)

Postmaster-General.

John M'Lean,.....Ohio,.....(continued in office.)

Attorney-General.

William Wirt,.....Virginia,....(continued in office.)

Speakers of the House of Representatives.

John W. Taylor,.....New York,.....19th Cong. 1825.

Andrew Stevenson,Virginia,.....20th do. 1827.

SEVENTH ADMINISTRATION;

1829 to 1837 ; — 8 years.

President.

ANDREW JACKSON,.....Tennessee,March 4, 1829.

Vice-Presidents.

John C. Calhoun,.....South Carolina,..March 4, 1829.

Martin Van Buren,.....New York,.....March 4, 1833.

Secretaries of State.

Martin Van Buren,.....New York,.....March 6, 1829.

Edward Livingston,.....Louisiana,.....

Louis M'Lane,.....Delaware,.....

John Forsyth,.....Georgia,

Secretaries of the Treasury.

Samuel D. Ingham,.....Pennsylvania,.....March 6, 1829.
 Louis M'Lane,.....Delaware,.....
 William J. Duane,.....Pennsylvania,.....
 Roger B. Taney,.....Maryland,.....
 Levi Woodbury,.....New Hampshire,..

Secretaries of War.

John H. Eaton,.....Tennessee,.....March 9, 1829.
 Lewis Cass,.....Ohio,.....
 Joel R. Poinsett,.....South Carolina,...

Secretaries of the Navy.

John Branch,.....North Carolina,...March 9, 1829.
 Levi Woodbury,.....New Hampshire,..
 Mahlon Dickerson,.....New Jersey,.....

Postmasters-General.

William T. Barry,.....Kentucky,.....March 9, 1829.
 Amos Kendall,.....Kentucky,.....

Attorneys-General.

John M'P. Berrien,.....Georgia,.....March 9, 1829.
 Roger B. Taney,.....Maryland,.....
 Benjamin F. Butler,.....New York,.....

Speakers of the House of Representatives.

Andrew Stevenson,.....Virginia,.....21st Cong. 1829.
 Andrew Stevenson,.....Virginia,.....22d do. 1831.
 Andrew Stevenson,.....Virginia,.. }23d do. { 1833.
 John Bell,.....Tennessee, }23d do. { 1834.
 James K. Polk,.....Tennessee,.....24th do. 1835.

Note. — The dates of the appointments of the principal executive officers, in the several administrations, above exhibited, are the times when the several nominations, made by the presidents, were confirmed by the senate, as stated in the "Journal of the Executive Proceedings of the Senate of the United States."

TABLE VIII.

Population of the United States, according to the five Enumerations.

[From the Official Revision.]

STATES.	1790.	1800.	1810.	1820.	1830.
Maine, ..	96,540	151,719	223,705	298,335	399,955
N. Hamp.	141,899	183,762	214,360	244,161	269,328
Vermont,	85,416	154,465	217,713	235,764	280,652
Mass. ...	378,717	423,245	472,040	523,287	610,408
R. Island,	69,110	69,122	77,031	83,059	97,199
Conn....	238,141	251,002	262,042	275,202	297,665
N. York,.	340,120	586,756	959,949	1,372,812	1,918,608
N. Jersey,	184,139	211,949	249,555	277,575	320,823
Penn....	434,373	602,365	810,091	1,049,458	1,348,233
Del.....	59,098	64,273	72,674	72,749	76,748
Maryl'nd,	319,728	341,548	380,546	407,350	447,040
Virginia,.	748,308	880,200	974,622	1,065,379	1,211,405
N. Car...	393,751	478,103	555,500	638,829	737,987
S. Car...	249,073	345,591	415,115	502,741	581,185
Georgia,.	82,548	162,101	252,433	340,987	516,823
Alabama,			20,845	127,901	309,527
Miss.....		8,850	40,352	75,448	136,621
Louisiana			76,556	153,407	215,739
Tenn....	35,791	105,602	261,727	422,813	681,904
Ken.....	73,077	220,955	406,511	564,317	687,917
Ohio,....		45,365	230,760	581,434	937,903
Indiana, .		4,875	24,520	147,178	343,031
Illinois, ..			12,282	55,211	157,455
Missouri, ..			20,845	66,586	140,445
Mich. T. .			4,762	8,896	31,639
Ark. T. .				14,273	30,338
D. of Col.		14,093	24,023	33,039	39,834
Florida T.					34,730
Total, ..	3,929,827	5,305,925	7,239,814	9,638,131	12,866,920

TABLE IX.

Slaves in the United States, according to five Enumerations; with the Number of square Miles in each State and Territory.

STATES.	1790.	1800.	1810.	1820.	1830.	SQUARE MILES.
Maine,						32,000
N. H. 158		8				9,280
Verm. 17						10,212
Mass.						7,800
R. Isl. 952	381	103	48	17		1,260
Conn. 2,759	951	310	97	25		4,674
N. Y. 21,324	20,343	15,017	10,088	75		46,000
N. Jer. 11,423	12,422	10,851	7,657	2,254		6,900
Penn. 3,737	1,706	795	211	403		43,950
Del. 8,887	6,153	4,177	4,509	3,292		2,068
Md. 103,036	105,635	111,502	107,398	102,294		10,800
Virg. 203,427	345,796	392,518	425,153	469,757		64,000
N. Car. 100,572	133,296	168,824	205,017	245,601		51,000
S. Car. 107,094	146,151	196,365	258,475	315,401		30,080
Geor. 29,264	59,404	105,218	149,656	217,531		58,000
Alab.			41,879	117,549		53,100
Miss.	3,489	17,088	32,814	65,659		46,358
Louis.		34,660	69,064	109,588		49,000
Tenn. 3,417	13,584	44,535	80,107	141,603		41,300
Ken. 11,830	4,034	80,561	126,732	165,213		39,000
Ohio,						38,800
Ind.	135	237	190			35,100
Illin.		168	917	*747		56,000
Misso.		3,011	10,222	25,081		61,000
D. Col.	3,244	5,395	6,377	6,119		100
Flo. T.				15,501		54,500
Mic. T.		24		32		48,622†
Ark. T.			1,617	4,576		45,300
Wis. T.						46,622†
Iowa,						11,067†
Total,	697,897	893,041	1,191,364	1,538,064	2,009,031	

* Not slaves, but "indented colored servants."

† Estimates of the General Land Office.

TABLE X.
Public Debt.

Years.	TOTAL AMOUNT OF PUBLIC DEBT.	PAYMENTS.		
		Paid of Principal.	For Interest, Charges, and Exchange.	Total.
1791	\$ 75,463,476 52	\$ 2,938,512 06	\$ 2,349,437 44	\$ 5,287,949 50
1792	77,22,9 4 66	4,062,037 76	3,201,628 23	7,263,665 99
1793	80,352,634 04	3,047,263 18	2,772,242 11	5,819,505 29
1794	78,427,404 77	2,311,285 57	3,490,292 52	5,801,578 09
1795	80,747,587 39	2,895,260 45	3,189,151 16	6,084,411 61
1796	83,762,172 07	2,640,791 91	3,185,054 53	5,835,846 44
1797	82,064,479 33	2,492,378 76	3,300,043 06	5,792,421 82
1798	79,228,529 12	937,012 86	3,053,281 28	3,990,294 14
1799	78,408,669 77	1,410,589 18	3,186,287 60	4,596,876 78
1800	82,976,294 35	1,203,665 23	3,374,704 72	4,578,369 95
1801	83,038,050 80	2,878,794 11	4,412,912 93	7,291,707 04
1802	80,712,632 25	5,413,965 81	4,125,038 95	9,539,004 76
1803	77,054,086 30	3,407,831 43	3,848,828 00	7,256,159 43
1804	86,427,120 88	3,905,204 90	4,266,582 55	8,171,787 45
1805	82,312,150 50	3,220,890 97	4,148,998 82	7,369,889 79
1806	75,723,270 66	5,266,476 73	3,723,407 88	8,989,884 61
1807	69,218,398 64	2,083,141 62	3,369,578 48	6,307,720 10
1808	65,196,317 97	6,832,092 48	3,428,152 87	10,260,245 35
1809	57,023,192 09	3,586,479 26	2,866,074 90	6,452,554 16
1810	53,173,217 52	5,163,476 93	2,845,427 53	8,008,904 46
1811	48,005,587 76	5,543,470 89	2,465,733 16	8,009,204 05
1812	45,209,737 90	1,998,349 88	2,451,272 57	4,449,622 45
1813	55,962,827 57	7,508,668 22	3,599,455 22	11,108,123 44
1814	81,487,846 24	3,387,304 90	4,593,239 04	7,900,543 94
1815	99,833,060 15	6,874,353 72	5,754,568 63	12,628,922 35
1816	127,334,933 74	17,657,804 24	7,213,258 69	24,871,062 93
1817	123,491,965 16	19,041,826 31	6,381,209 81	25,423,036 12
1818	103,466,633 83	15,279,754 88	6,016,446 74	21,296,201 62
1819	95,529,648 28	2,540,388 18	5,163,538 11	7,703,926 29
1820	91,015,566 15	3,502,397 08	5,126,097 20	8,628,494 28
1821	89,987,427 66	3,279,821 61	5,087,272 01	8,367,093 62
1822	93,546,676 98	2,675,987 80	5,172,961 32	7,848,949 12
1823	90,875,877 22	607,331 81	4,922,684 60	5,530,016 41
1824	90,269,777 77	11,574,532 29	4,993,861 47	16,568,393 76
1825	83,788,432 71	7,728,734 88	4,370,309 90	12,099,044 78
1826	81,054,059 99	7,061,579 95	3,977,864 65	11,039,444 60
1827	73,987,357 20	6,515,514 47	3,486,071 51	10,001,585 98
1828	67,475,043 87	9,064,637 47	3,098,867 61	12,163,505 08
1829	58,421,413 07	9,841,024 55	2,542,776 22	12,383,800 77
1830	48,565,406 50	9,443,173 29	1,912,574 93	11,355,748 22
1831	39,123,191 68	14,790,497 46	1,383,880 76	16,174,378 22
1832	24,322,235 18	17,303,041 91	775,896 94	18,078,938 85
1833	7,001,698 83	998,524 90	306,388 92	1,304,913 82
1834	4,760,082 08	5,674,412 21	502,152 98	6,176,565 19
1835	37,733 05			

TABLE XI.

Receipts of the United States, from March 4, 1789, to December 31, 1837.

[Against 1791 are placed the receipts from March 4, 1789, to December 31, 1791. The (surplus) receipts for postage, the receipts from miscellaneous sources, and the cents, are omitted, but are included in the total amount.]

Years.	Customs.	Internal Revenue.	Direct Taxes.	Public Lands.	Loans, and Treasury Notes, &c.	Dividends, and Sales of Bank Stock, and Bonus.	Total.
1791	4,399,473	.....	.....	.....	5,791,112	.....	10,210,025 75
1792	3,413,070	208,942	.....	.....	5,070,806	8,053	3,710,766 77
1793	4,255,306	337,705	.....	.....	1,067,701	38,500	5,720,624 23
1794	4,301,065	274,089	.....	.....	4,609,196	303,472	10,041,101 65
1795	5,533,461	337,755	.....	.....	3,305,268	160,000	9,419,802 79
1796	6,567,987	475,239	.....	4,836	362,800	1,240,000	8,740,329 65
1797	7,549,619	575,491	.....	83,540	70,135	385,220	8,758,916 40
1798	7,106,061	644,357	.....	11,963	308,574	79,920	8,209,070 07
1799	6,610,449	779,136	.....	.....	5,074,646	71,040	12,621,459 84
1800	9,030,932	809,396	734,923	443	1,602,435	71,040	12,451,134 14
1801	10,750,778	1,048,033	534,343	167,726	10,125	88,800	12,945,455 95
1802	12,439,235	621,893	206,565	183,628	5,597	1,327,560	15,001,391 31
1803	10,479,417	215,179	71,879	165,675	.....	.....	11,064,097 63
1804	11,093,565	50,941	50,198	437,526	9,532	.....	11,335,840 02
1805	12,936,487	21,747	21,383	540,193	128,814	.....	13,639,503 14
1806	14,667,698	20,101	53,763	765,245	48,897	.....	15,608,823 78
1807	15,945,521	13,051	34,732	466,163	.....	.....	16,398,019 26
1808	16,363,550	8,210	19,159	647,939	1,822	.....	17,062,544 09

1809	7,296,020	4,044	7,517	442,252	.....	7,773,473
1810	8,583,309	7,430	12,448	696,548	2,759,992	12,144,206
1811	13,313,222	2,295	7,666	1,040,237	8,309	14,431,838
1812	8,938,777	4,903	859	710,427	12,837,900	22,639,032
1813	13,224,623	4,755	3,805	835,655	26,184,435	40,524,844
1814	5,998,772	1,662,984	2,219,497	1,135,971	23,377,911	34,559,536
1815	7,232,942	4,678,059	2,162,673	1,287,959	35,261,320	50,961,237
1816	36,306,874	5,124,708	4,253,635	1,717,985	9,494,436	57,171,421
1817	26,283,343	2,678,100	1,834,187	1,991,226	734,542	33,833,592
1818	17,176,385	955,279	264,333	2,606,564	8,765	21,593,936
1819	20,233,608	229,593	83,650	3,274,422	2,291	24,605,665
1820	15,005,612	106,260	31,586	1,635,871	3,040,324	20,881,493
1821	13,004,447	69,027	29,349	1,212,966	5,000,324	19,573,703
1822	17,589,761	67,655	20,961	1,803,581	.....	20,232,427
1823	19,038,433	34,242	10,337	916,523	.....	20,540,666
1824	17,878,325	34,663	6,201	984,418	5,000,000	24,381,212
1825	20,098,713	25,771	2,330	1,216,090	5,000,000	26,840,858
1826	23,341,331	21,589	6,638	1,393,785	.....	25,260,434
1827	19,712,283	19,835	2,626	1,495,845	.....	22,966,363
1828	23,205,523	17,451	2,218	1,018,308	.....	24,763,629
1829	22,681,965	14,502	11,335	1,517,175	.....	24,827,627
1830	21,922,391	12,160	16,980	2,329,356	.....	24,844,116
1831	24,224,441	6,933	10,506	3,210,815	.....	28,526,820
1832	28,465,237	11,630	6,791	2,623,381	.....	31,805,561
1833	29,032,508	2,759	394	3,967,682	.....	33,948,426
1834	16,214,957	4,196	19	4,857,600	.....	21,791,935
1835	19,391,310	10,459	4,263	14,757,600	.....	35,430,087
1836	23,409,940	370	728	24,877,179	.....	50,826,796
1837	11,169,290	5,493	1,687	6,776,236	2,992,989	27,883,853
					1,375,965	84

TABLE XII. — *Expenditures of the United States, from March 4, 1789, to December 31, 1837.*
 [Against 1791 are placed the expenditures from March 4, 1789, to December 31, 1791. The item of miscellaneous expenditures, and the cents, are omitted, but are included in the total amount.]

Years.	Civil List.	Foreign Intercourse, including Awards.	Military Establishment.				Indian Department, including Chickasaw Fund.	Naval Establishment.	Public Debt.	Total.
			Milit. Services, Fortifications, Arms, Int. Improvements, &c.	Revolutionary Pensions.	Other Pensions.					
1791	757,134	14,733	632,804	.....	175,813	27,000	570	5,287,919	7,207,539	02
1792	380,917	78,766	1,100,702	.....	109,243	13,646	53	7,263,665	9,141,569	67
1793	358,241	89,500	1,130,249	.....	80,087	27,282	.....	5,819,505	7,529,575	55
1794	440,916	146,403	2,639,097	.....	81,399	13,042	61,408	5,801,578	9,302,124	77
1795	561,633	912,635	2,480,910	.....	68,673	23,475	410,562	6,084,411	10,435,069	65
1796	447,139	131,359	1,260,263	.....	100,843	113,563	271,784	5,835,816	8,367,776	84
1797	433,233	669,788	1,039,402	.....	92,256	62,496	382,631	5,792,421	8,626,012	78
1798	504,605	457,428	2,009,522	.....	104,845	16,470	1,381,347	3,990,294	8,613,517	68
1799	592,905	271,374	2,466,916	.....	95,444	20,302	2,858,081	4,596,876	11,077,043	50
1800	713,638	395,283	2,560,878	.....	64,130	31	3,448,716	4,578,369	11,989,739	92
1801	549,233	295,676	1,672,944	.....	73,533	9,000	2,111,424	7,291,707	12,973,376	94
1802	596,931	550,925	1,179,148	.....	85,410	94,000	915,561	9,539,004	13,276,081	67
1803	526,583	1,110,331	822,055	.....	62,902	60,000	1,215,230	7,256,159	11,958,983	67
1804	624,795	1,186,655	875,123	.....	80,092	116,500	1,189,832	8,171,787	12,621,616	86
1805	585,819	2,798,028	712,781	.....	81,854	196,500	1,597,500	7,369,889	13,727,111	49
1806	631,230	1,760,421	1,224,355	.....	81,875	234,200	1,649,641	8,989,881	15,070,993	97
1807	655,524	577,826	1,288,685	.....	70,500	205,425	1,722,064	6,307,720	11,992,992	99
1808	691,167	304,992	2,900,331	.....	82,576	213,575	1,831,067	10,260,245	16,764,534	20
1809	712,465	166,306	3,335,772	.....	87,833	337,503	2,427,753	6,452,554	13,867,226	80
1810	703,994	81,367	2,294,323	.....	83,744	177,625	1,654,244	8,008,904	13,319,986	74
1811	644,467	264,901	2,032,828	.....	75,043	151,875	1,965,566	8,009,204	13,601,808	91

1812	826,271	347,703	11,817,798	.....	91,402	277,845	3,959,365	4,449,622	22,279,121	15
1813	780,545	209,941	19,652,013	.....	86,989	167,358	6,416,600	11,108,123	39,190,520	36
1814	927,424	177,179	20,350,806	.....	90,164	167,394	7,311,290	7,900,543	38,028,230	32
1815	852,247	290,892	14,794,991	.....	69,656	530,750	8,660,000	12,623,922	39,582,493	35
1816	1,208,125	364,620	16,012,096	.....	188,804	274,512	3,908,278	24,371,062	48,244,495	51
1817	994,556	281,994	8,004,236	.....	297,374	319,463	3,341,593	25,423,036	40,877,646	04
1818	1,109,559	420,429	5,622,715	300,000	590,719	505,704	2,953,695	21,296,201	35,104,875	40
1819	1,142,130	284,113	6,506,300	1,847,900	568,039	463,181	3,847,640	7,703,926	24,004,199	73
1820	1,218,310	253,370	2,630,392	2,766,440	441,936	315,750	4,387,990	8,628,494	21,763,024	85
1821	1,112,292	207,110	4,461,291	.....	242,317	477,005	3,319,243	8,367,093	19,090,572	69
1822	1,158,131	164,879	3,111,931	1,652,590	305,608	575,007	2,224,458	7,348,949	17,676,592	67
1823	1,058,911	292,118	3,096,924	1,449,097	331,491	380,781	2,503,765	12,095,344	15,314,171	00
1824	1,336,266	5,140,099	3,340,939	1,267,600	231,726	429,987	2,904,581	16,568,393	31,893,538	47
1825	1,330,747	371,666	3,659,914	1,303,810	.....	724,106	3,049,083	12,095,344	23,585,804	72
1826	1,256,745	232,719	3,943,194	1,305,194	251,399	743,447	4,218,902	11,041,082	21,103,398	46
1827	1,228,141	659,211	3,938,977	796,012	180,126	760,624	4,263,877	10,003,668	22,656,764	04
1828	1,455,490	1,001,193	4,145,544	723,134	127,438	705,084	3,918,786	12,163,438	25,459,479	52
1829	1,327,069	207,765	4,724,291	764,492	185,102	576,344	3,308,745	12,383,367	25,044,358	40
1830	1,579,724	294,067	4,767,123	1,067,947	295,319	622,262	3,294,428	11,355,748	24,585,281	55
1831	1,373,755	298,554	4,841,835	1,001,938	168,726	930,738	3,856,183	16,174,378	30,038,446	12
1832	1,800,757	325,181	5,446,034	1,057,121	127,800	1,352,419	3,956,370	17,840,309	34,356,698	06
1833	1,562,758	955,395	6,704,019	4,294,861	294,291	1,302,980	3,901,356	1,543,543	24,257,298	49
1834	2,080,601	241,562	5,696,189	3,117,192	247,092	1,003,953	3,956,260	6,176,565	24,601,982	44
1835	1,905,551	774,750	5,759,156	1,823,977	125,733	1,706,444	3,864,939	58,191	17,573,141	56
1836	2,110,175	533,382	12,169,226	2,599,829	282,945	4,615,141	5,807,718	.....	30,863,164	04
1837	2,357,035	4,603,905	13,682,730	1,957,621	714,510	4,348,036	6,646,914	21,822	37,265,037	15

The total amount of receipts for the whole period is \$1,014,143,767; of expenditures, \$976,816,514. The difference, being \$37,327,253, is principally deposited with, or loaned to, the states.

TABLE XIII.
Exports, Imports, and Tonnage.

Years.	Value of Exports, in Dollars.			Value of Imports, in Dolls.	Total Tonnage of every Description.
	Domestic.	Foreign.	Total.		
1791	.....	.....	19,012,041	52,200,000	502,146
1792	.....	.....	20,753,098	31,500,000	564,437
1793	.....	.....	26,109,572	31,100,000	491,780
1794	.....	.....	33,026,233	34,600,000	628,817
1795	.....	.....	47,989,472	69,756,268	747,964
1796	.....	.....	67,064,097	81,436,164	831,900
1797	.....	.....	56,850,206	75,379,406	876,913
1798	.....	.....	61,527,097	68,551,700	898,328
1799	.....	.....	78,665,522	79,068,148	946,408
1800	.....	.....	70,971,780	91,252,768	972,492
1801	.....	.....	94,115,925	111,363,511	1,033,219
1802	.....	.....	72,483,160	76,333,333	892,101
1803	42,205,961	13,594,072	55,800,033	64,666,666	949,147
1804	41,467,477	36,231,597	77,699,074	85,000,000	1,042,404
1805	42,387,002	53,179,019	95,566,021	120,000,000	1,140,369
1806	41,253,727	60,283,236	101,536,963	129,000,000	1,208,735
1807	48,699,592	59,643,558	108,343,150	138,500,000	1,268,548
1808	9,433,546	12,997,414	22,430,960	56,990,000	1,242,595
1809	31,405,700	20,797,531	52,203,231	59,400,000	1,350,281
1810	42,366,679	24,391,295	66,757,974	85,400,000	1,424,783
1811	45,294,041	16,022,790	61,316,831	53,400,000	1,232,502
1812	30,032,109	8,495,127	38,527,236	77,030,000	1,269,997
1813	25,008,152	2,847,845	27,855,997	22,005,000	1,166,628
1814	6,782,272	145,169	6,927,441	12,965,000	1,159,209
1815	45,971,403	6,583,350	52,557,753	113,041,274	1,368,127
1816	64,781,896	17,138,556	81,920,452	147,103,000	1,372,218
1817	68,313,560	19,358,069	87,671,569	99,250,000	1,399,911
1818	73,854,437	19,426,696	93,281,133	121,750,000	1,225,184
1819	50,976,838	19,165,683	70,142,521	87,125,000	1,260,751
1820	51,683,640	12,008,029	69,691,669	74,450,000	1,280,166
1821	43,671,894	21,392,488	64,974,382	62,585,724	1,298,958
1822	49,874,079	22,286,202	72,160,281	83,211,541	1,324,699
1823	47,155,408	27,543,622	74,699,030	77,579,267	1,336,565
1824	50,649,500	25,337,157	75,986,657	80,549,007	1,389,163
1825	66,944,745	32,590,643	99,535,388	96,310,075	1,423,112
1826	53,055,710	24,539,612	77,595,322	84,974,477	1,534,190
1827	58,921,691	23,403,136	82,324,827	79,484,068	1,620,608
1828	50,669,669	21,595,017	72,264,686	88,509,824	1,741,392
1829	55,700,193	16,658,478	72,358,671	74,492,527	1,260,978
1830	59,462,029	14,387,479	73,849,508	70,876,920	1,191,776
1831	61,277,057	20,038,526	81,310,583	103,191,134	1,267,846
1832	63,137,470	24,039,473	87,176,943	101,029,266	1,439,450
1833	70,317,698	19,822,735	90,140,433	108,118,311	1,601,150
1834	81,024,162	23,312,811	104,336,973	126,521,332	1,758,907
1835	101,189,082	20,504,495	121,693,577	149,895,742	1,824,940
1836	106,916,680	21,746,360	128,663,040	189,980,035	1,892,102
1837	95,564,414	21,854,962	117,419,376	140,989,217	1,896,685
1838	96,033,821	12,452,795	108,486,616	113,717,404	1,995,639
1839	103,533,891	17,494,525	121,028,416	162,092,132	2,096,478

TABLE XIV.

*Statement of the Commerce of each State and Territory,
commencing October 1, 1836, and ending
September 30, 1837.*

STATES.	Value of Imports.	Value of Exports.		
		Domestic Produce.	Foreign Produce.	Total.
Maine,.....	\$ 801,404	\$ 947,276	\$ 8,676	\$ 955,952
N. Hamp....	81,434	26,000	8,641	34,641
Vermont,....	342,449	138,693	.....	138,693
Mass.....	19,984,668	4,871,901	4,856,289	9,728,190
Rhode Island,	523,610	411,806	76,452	488,258
Connecticut,	318,849	523,103	9,487	532,590
New York,..	79,301,772	16,083,969	11,254,450	27,338,419
New Jersey,.	69,152	19,640	24,577	44,217
Pennsylv.	11,680,111	2,565,712	1,275,887	3,841,599
Delaware,....	66,841	40,333	.....	40,333
Maryland,...	7,857,033	3,365,173	424,744	3,789,917
Dist. of Col..	102,225	467,766	1,443	469,209
Virginia,....	813,862	3,699,110	3,604	3,702,714
N. Carolina,.	271,623	548,876	2,919	551,795
S. Carolina,..	2,510,860	11,138,992	81,169	11,220,161
Georgia,	774,349	8,935,041	.....	8,935,041
Alabama,....	609,385	9,652,910	5,898	9,658,808
Mississippi,..	.....	304,831	.....	304,831
Louisiana,...	14,020,012	31,546,275	3,792,422	35,338,697
Ohio,	17,747	132,844	.....	132,844
Kentucky,..	17,782			
Tennessee,..	27,401			
Michigan,...	.....	69,790	.....	69,790
Florida,.....	490,784	74,373	28,304	102,677
Total,....	140,989,217	95,564,414	21,854,962	117,419,376

TABLE XV.

Exhibiting the Value of Imports from, and Exports to, each Foreign Country, during the Year ending on the 30th of September, 1838.

	Countries.	Value of Imports.	Value of Exports.		
			Domestic Produce.	Foreign Produce.	Total.
1	Russia,	\$ 1,898,396	\$ 359,047	\$ 689,242	\$ 1,048,289
2	Prussia,	6,629	65,661	19,283	84,944
3	Sweden,	854,771	210,745	66,686	277,431
4	Swedish West Indies,	46,019	74,140	4,281	78,420
5	Denmark,	27,118	98,081	24,750	122,839
6	Danish West Indies,	1,617,747	949,769	227,417	1,177,093
7	Netherlands,	1,180,897	2,555,979	398,269	2,954,245
8	Dutch East Indies, ..	576,396	166,214	329,747	495,966
9	Dutch West Indies, ..	382,591	204,234	46,915	251,140
10	Dutch Guiana,	54,354	68,775	2,073	70,842
11	Belgium,	239,928	1,340,900	274,051	1,614,951
12	England,	44,191,851	48,899,888	1,545,188	50,445,077
13	Scotland,	594,665	1,685,203	10,776	1,695,977
14	Ireland,	75,162	38,535		38,555
15	Gibraltar,	25,624	609,818	152,371	762,183
16	Malta,	16,866	81,955	4,078	86,039
17	British East Indies, ..	675,531	320,505	258,402	578,900
18	Cape of Good Hope, ..	12,034	22,718		22,718
19	Australia,	30,538	33,546	816	34,360
20	British West Indies, ..	1,635,848	2,080,634	120,218	2,200,850
21	British American Colonies,	1,555,570	2,484,987	238,504	2,723,491
22	British Honduras, ..	201,448	89,896	19,300	109,196
23	British Guiana,	36,043	145,532	522	146,057
24	Hanse Towns,	2,847,358	2,625,802	665,843	3,291,645
25	France, on the Atlantic,	16,823,112	13,029,649	976,967	14,066,618
26	France, on the Mediterranean, ..	948,685	1,433,765	283,135	1,716,905
27	French West Indies, ..	310,050	430,008	38,889	468,897
28	French Guiana,	5,302			
29	Spain, on the Atlantic,	234,200	137,405	12,470	149,875
30	Spain, on the Mediterranean,	868,336	336,904	2,595	339,499

	Countries.	Value of Imports.	Value of Exports.		
			Domestic Produce.	Foreign Produce.	Total.
31	Teneriffe and other Canaries, }	\$ 151,366	\$ 34,619	\$ 18,686	\$ 53,305
32	Manilla and Philippine Islands, }	386,528	93,214	149,303	242,517
33	Cuba,.....	11,694,812	4,721,433	1,454,325	6,175,758
34	Other Spanish West Indies,...	2,636,152	692,538	30,484	723,052
35	Portugal,.....	296,864	67,970	8,093	76,063
36	Madeira,.....	366,274	36,422	4,535	400,957
37	Fayal and other Azores,.....	32,746	7,556	1,681	9,237
38	Cape de Verd Islands,.....	29,174	96,941	8,933	105,874
39	Italy,.....	944,238	318,536	141,357	459,893
40	Sicily,.....	345,362	25,532	21,813	47,345
41	Sardinia,.....	851			
42	Trieste,.....	372,378	643,223	125,740	768,963
43	Turkey,.....	296,533	142,448	115,461	257,909
44	Greece,.....	.....	7,440	1,590	9,030
45	Morocco, and Barbary States, ... }	10,174			
46	Hayti,.....	1,275,762	814,421	95,834	910,255
47	Texas,.....	165,718	1,028,818	219,062	1,247,880
48	Mexico,.....	3,500,709	1,040,906	1,123,191	2,164,097
49	Central America, ..	155,614	111,910	131,139	243,040
50	Colombia,.....	1,615,249	406,564	318,175	724,739
51	Brazil,.....	3,191,238	2,094,957	562,237	2,657,194
52	Argentine Republic,	1,010,908	180,832	56,283	236,665
53	Cisplatine Republic,	18,631	35,762	24,567	60,329
54	Chili,.....	942,095	1,047,572	322,692	1,370,264
55	Peru,.....	633,437	163,868	39,531	203,399
56	South America, } generally,..... }	.....	1,875	.....	1,875
57	China,.....	4,764,536	655,581	861,021	1,516,602
58	Europe, generally, .....	.....	31,759	.....	31,759
59	Asia, generally,	212,091	105,672	76,159	181,831
60	Africa, generally, ..	541,931	390,354	101,548	491,902
61	West Indies, generally,	217	334,638	4,414	339,052
62	South Seas and Sandwich Islands,.....	55,561	60,684	22,153	82,837
63	Uncertain places, ..	97,186			
	Total, ... \$	113,717,404	96,033,821	12,452,795	108,486,616

TABLE XVI.

Summary of the principal Religious Denominations.

[From the American Almanac, 1840.]

DENOMINATIONS.	Churches, or Congregations.	Ministers.	Members, or Communicants.	Population.
Baptists,	6,319	4,239	452,000	4,300,000
“ Freewill,	753	612	33,876	
“ Seventh-Day,	42	46	4,503	
“ Six-Principle,	16	10	2,117	
Catholics,	418	478	.....	800,000
Christians,	1,000	800	150,000	300,000
Congregationalists,	1,300	1,150	160,000	1,400,000
Discip. of Christ, (Campbellites,)				
Dutch Reformed,	197	192	22,515	450,000
Episcopalians,	950	849	.....	600,000
Friends,	500	.....	.....	100,000
German Reformed,	600	180	30,000	
Jews, .....	.....	.....	.....	15,000
Lutherans,	750	267	62,266	540,000
Mennonites,	200	.....	30,000	
Methodists, .....	.....	3,106	686,549	3,000,000
“ Protestant, .....	.....	400	50,000	
Moravians, or United Brethren,	21	33	5,745	12,000
Mormonites, .....	.....	.....	12,000	12,000
New Jerusalem Church,	27	33	.....	5,000
Presbyterians,	2,807	2,225	274,084	2,175,000
“ Cumberland,	500	450	50,000	
“ Associate,	183	87	16,000	
“ Reformed,	40	20	3,000	
“ Assoc. Reformed,	214	116	12,000	
Shakers,	15	45	6,000	6,000
Tunkers,	40	40	3,000	30,000
Unitarians,	200	174	.....	180,000
Universalists,	653	317	.....	600,000

The above statements of the number of churches, ministers, and members, of the several denominations, have been derived chiefly from recent official documents published by the different denominations; but the last column contains rather a vague estimate, which has appeared in various publications, of the total number of people who are attached to, or show a preference for, the several different religious persuasions.









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Author Hale, Salma

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 17, 18, 19. Cunningham's Lives of Painters, Sculptors, &c 3 v.
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 21, 22. Mary, Queen of Scots. 2 v.
 23. Ancient and Modern Egypt 1 v.
 24. James Life of Charlemagne 1 v.
 24. History of Poland... 1 v.
 25. Smith's Festivals, Games, and Amusements... 1 v.
 26. Life of Sir Isaac Newton 1 v.
 27. Russell's Palestine... 1 v.
 28. Memoirs of Josephine... 1 v.
 29. The Court and Camp of Bonaparte. With Plates 1 v.
 30. Lives of Early Navigators 1 v.
 31. Piccorn's Island, &c... 1 v.
 32. Turner's Sacred History, 1st v.
 33, 34. Female Sovereigns... 2 v.
 35, 36. Landers' Africa... 2 v.
 37. Intellectual Powers, &c... 1 v.
 38, 40. Celebrated Travellers... 3 v.
 41, 42. Life of Frederic II... 2 v.
 43, 44. Venetian History... 2 v.
 45, 46. Thatcher's Indian Lives 2 v.
 47, 48, 49. History of India... 3 v.
 50. Brewster on Natural Magic 1 v.
 51, 52. History of Ireland... 2 v.
 53. Northern Coasts of America 1 v.
 54. Humboldt's Travels... 1 v.
 55, 56. Euler's Nat. Philosophy 2 v.
 57. Mudie's Guide to Nature, 1 v.
 58. Abercrombie on the Philosophy of the Moral Feelings 1 v.
 59. Dick on Society, &c... 1 v.
 60. History of Charlemagne 1 v.
 61. Nubia and Abyssinia... 1 v.
 62, 63. Life of Cromwell... 2 v.
 64. Montgomery's Lectures... 1 v.
 65. Peter the Great... 1 v.
 66, 67. Eminent Painters... 2 v.
 68, 69. History of Arabia... 2 v.
 70. History of Persia... 1 v.
 71. Combe's Physiology... 1 v.
 72. Turner's Sacred History, 2d vol.
 73. History of Barbary States 1 v.
 74. Natural History of Insects, 2d v.
 75, 76. Life of Washington... 2 v.
 77. The Philosophy of Living. 1 v.
 78. Huggins on the Earth... 1 v.
 79. History of Italy... 1 v.
 80, 81. The Chinese... 2 v.
 82. Circumnavigation of the Globe... 1 v.
 83. Celestial Scenery... 1 v.
 84. Turner's Sacred History, 3d v.
 85. Animal Mechanism... 1 v.
 94, 95. Pursuit of Knowledge. 2 v.
 86-91. Universal History... 6 v.
 92, 93. Dr. Franklin... 2 v.
 96, 97. Paley's Nat. Theology 2 v.
 98. Natural History of Birds... 1 v.
 99. Dick's Sideral Heavens... 1 v.
 100. Upham on Disordered Mental Action... 1 v.
 101, 102. British America... 2 v.
 103. History of the Fine Arts 1 v.
 104. Nat. Hist. of Quadrupeds 1 v.
 105. Travels of Mungo Park. 1 v.
 106. Two Years before the Mast... 1 v.
 107, 108. Parry's Voyages... 2 v.
 109, 110. Johnson's Works... 2 v.
 111. Bryant's American Poets 1 v.
 112, 113. Habcock's English Poets... 2 v.
 114-118. Keighley's History of England... 5 v.
 119, 120. Hale's United States 2 v.
 121, 122. Irving's Goldsmith... 2 v.
 123, 124. Distinguished Men... 2 v.
 125. Life of De Witt Clinton... 1 v.
 126, 127. Life of Commodore Perry... 2 v.
 128. Bruce's Life and Adventures... 1 v.
 129. Lives of Jay and Hamilton 1 v.

CLASSICAL SERIES.

- 1, 2. Xenophon. Portrait... 2 v.
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 5. Rose's Sallust. Portrait... 1 v.
 6, 7. Caesar's Commentaries... 2 v.
 8, 9, 10. Cicero. Portrait... 3 v.
 11, 12. Virgil. Portrait... 2 v.
 13. Aeschylus... 1 v.
 14. Sophocles... 1 v.
 15, 16, 17. Euripides... 3 v.
 18, 19. Horace and Phædrus... 2 v.
 20, 21. Ovid. Portrait... 2 v.
 22, 23. Thucydides... 2 v.
 24, 25, 26, 27, 28. Livy... 5 v.
 29, 30, 31. Herodotus... 3 v.
 32, 33, 34. Homer... 3 v.
 35. Juvenal and Persius... 1 v.
 36. Pindar and Anacreon... 1 v.